THE INDIGENEITY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN FIJI:

Issues and Opportunities

A thesis submitted

in partial fulfilment

of the requirement for the degree

of

Master of Arts

in Anthropology

at the

University of Waikato

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

By

TARISI SOROVI VUNIDILO

2010

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

My life has been filled with many fond memories, one of which was listening to my mother, Mereseini Bogitini Vatu's childhood stories. This evoked in me a longing to visualize what the past looked like, and to be able to give a voice to the voiceless. In my mother's case, being an orphan was a very hard life. This thesis is dedicated to her, and *vinaka vakalevu Nau* for sharing your life stories with me.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Mike Goldsmith, who was very patient with me. As a fulltime working mother, it was a mission to complete my work on time. However, with constant reminders and stern advice, I was able to focus my time and energy to complete this thesis.

Also to my informants and interviewees, without your feedback and answers to my questions, I would not have completed my research. Thank you for being so open with me, and the numerous discussions around the *kava* bowl were definitely not in vain. Thank you to my family in Fiji for looking after me, in particular my dad Navitalai Sorovi and my brother Sakiusa Sorovi for accompanying me to my focus groups. Your assistance during the interviews made it so much easier for me.

There are also those who supported me along the way. My husband, Kali Vunidilo, *vinaka vakalevu na veitokoni*. To Litea Meo-Sewabu, Dr. Joseph Mbele, Dr. Steven Ratuva, Dr. Nuhisifa Seve Williams, Ping Ann-Ado, Lorraine Evening, Ratu Sela Rayawa, Sagale Buadromo, George Andrews, Sally Henson, Ratu Jone Naucabalavu, Sepeti Matararaba, Christina Tuitubou, Anna Larsen and others who I may not name but they know who they are. Your constant words of encouragement have allowed me to cross the bridge and hand in my thesis.

Last but not least, a special *vinaka vakalevu* to my beautiful children who have supported me in every way. For this, Merewairita and Leo, I am forever grateful.

Glossary

Ai Sevusevu – traditional welcoming ceremony

Butu vanua – when envoys are sent to check out the new land

Buisavulu – the Fijian Princess, who has lineage to Ovalau Island, Central Fiji

Degei – snake/serpent deity worshipped by Fijians

Kaunitoni – the boat that brought in the first Fijians from the Middle East

Kalou – god

Kalou Vu – originating spirit

Kalou Yalo – spirit god

Kava – traditional drink in Fiji, made from a pepper plant known as *piper methysticum*. The root and branch are dried, pounded and mixed with water before being served (see 'Yaqona')

Kuro – ceramic pot

Lutunasobasoba – the chief believed to have brought the first Fijians on the Kaunitoni canoe

Masi – paper-mulberry bark-cloth

Matanitu – kingdom or ruling government

Matanivanua – herald

Mataqali – clan

Nacirikaumoli – name of a chief translated as *the floating bunch of oranges*

Nakausabaria – name of a chief translated as *the chewed branch*

Nakauvadra – the mountainous region of north-eastern Viti Levu where *Lutunasobasoba* and his followers lived

Tanganyika – the original site of where the first Fijians were believed to have originated from in Tanzania, in East Africa

Talanoa – story-telling

Tokatoka – family unit

Tualeita – ridge-paths in the mountains that Fijian ancestors used to move from one region to another. To some Fijians, they were also known as the paths of the spirits

Turaga – chiefs

Turaga iTaukei – chiefly owner

Tuka – a cult that existed in the west of Fiji during the arrival of Christianity

Vanua – land

Vakamarama – be in a manner of a lady

Vasu – traditional link to mother's family

Veitalanoa – the process of telling stories

Viseisei – village where the first Fijians lived after the dissension

Vunivalu – the root or cause of war

Vuda – the region of where the original Fijians set up their first habitat, translated as "the same origin."

Waka – root of a tree, but in the context of this research, *root of kava*

Waqa VakaViti – Fijian traditional canoe

Yaqona – *piper methysticum*, a pepper plant, from which the Fijian national drink originates (see 'Kava')

Yavusa – the largest kinship division in Fijian society. This is the tribal unit of descendants of one originator or the same ancestor

Yavutu – place of origin

Abbreviations

BP	**Before Present**
BC	**Before Christ**
JPS	**Journal of Polynesian Society**
JICA	**Japan International Cooperation Agency**
NLTB	**Native Land Trust Board**
NLDC	**Native Land Development Corporation**
NLC	**Native Land Commission**
SDA	**Seventh Day Adventist**

Maps, Figures and Tables

Maps

Figures

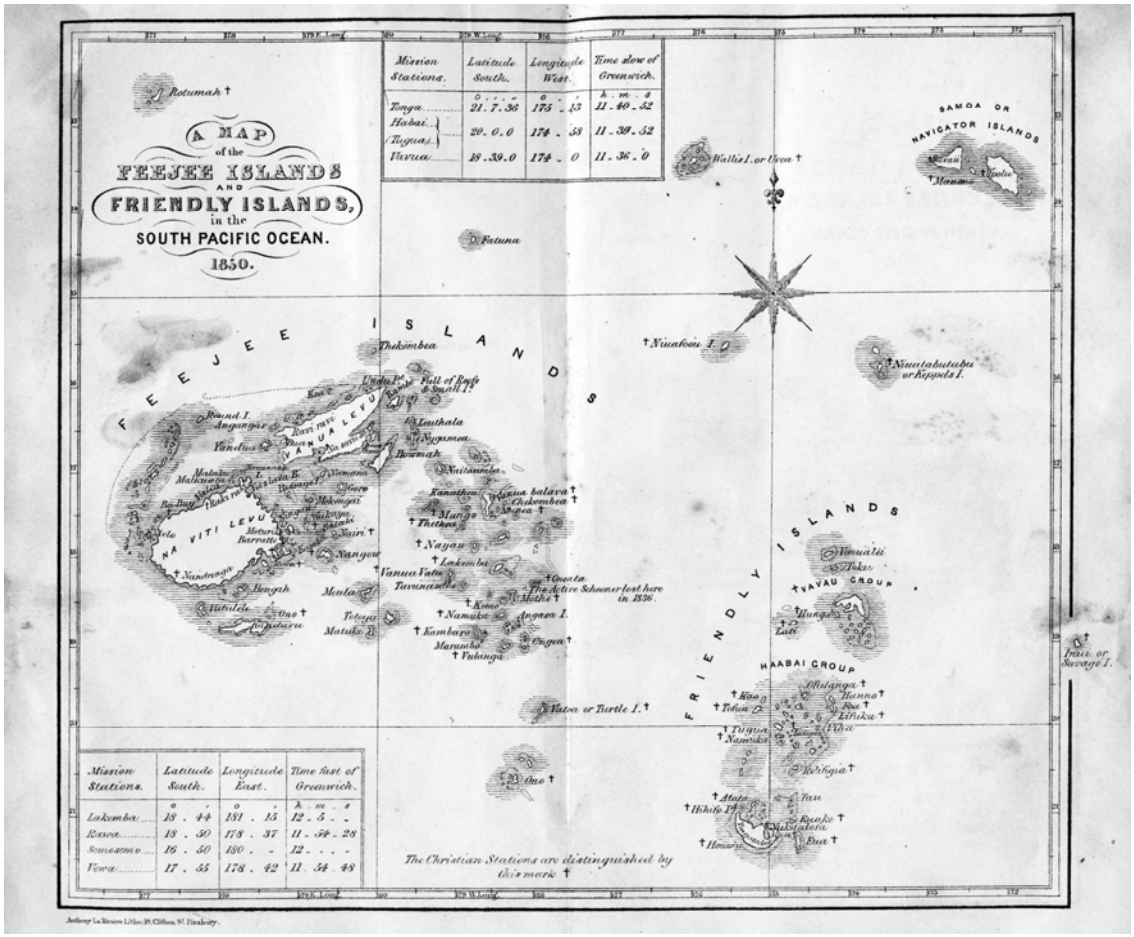
Tables

Map 1: Map of Fiji and the Pacific

Source: http://4.bp.blogspot.com, August 2010

Map 2: Map of the world

Source:http:www.mapcentre.com.au/schoolmaps/worldmap, August 2010



Map 3: Map of Fiji in 1850 Source: Hoole, 1848, Feejee and the Friendly Islands

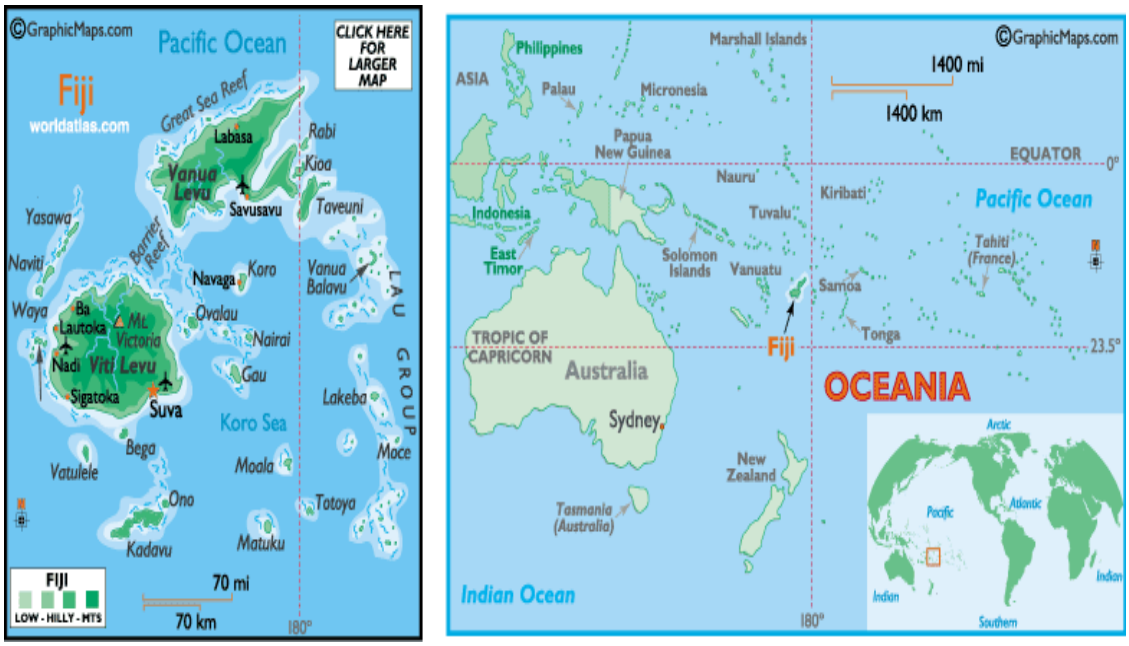
Introduction

"…and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and to know the place for the first time…" (T.S. Eliot)

Fiji is located between 15 and 22 degrees south of the equator and is composed of over 300 islands of which 95 are inhabited. Fiji, as it is known now, was called Viti by indigenous Fijians. The two largest islands are Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. Marshall (2000,1) describes Fiji as a tiny nation of islands surrounded by the vast waters of the western Pacific Ocean. She also highlights the fact that the strategic position of Fiji far outweighs the size of the islands. Its geographical position in the Pacific is a major factor of interest among many researchers. Located on the border of Melanesia and Polynesia, the admixture of its people and way of life has attracted scholars over the years.

Fiji's location at the doorstep to Polynesia has given it a curious in-between-ness (ibid). The classification that is commonly placed on Fijians is that they are half-Polynesians and half-Melanesians. In the case of the Polynesian Culture Centre in Laie, Hawaii, the background of Fijians was debated. The performances of the Fijian students were temporarily halted and the main question asked was whether they were traditionally "Polynesians" to warrant Fiji being represented at the Centre. After much discussion, the Fijian performances were restored to the relief of all students and staff involved. A similar example can be seen here in New Zealand where Fiji is always included among the Polynesian communities. Fiji has a village allocated at the annual Pasifika Festival, sitting alongside Tangata Whenua (indigenous New Zealanders) and other Polynesian villages. These two examples reflect how Fijians are regarded in terms of their Polynesian identity. With references to their Melanesian traits, Fiji is currently, and has been for some time, a key valuable member of the Melanesian Spearhead group, members of which include Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Caledonia.

Fiji's unique cultural disposition has provided scholars with many opportunities to unravel the many intriguing "unspoken" and "spoken" stories of Fiji's prehistory. Unspoken stories here refer to tangible historical evidence that can be seen and touched but not heard. In the context of this research, an example would be an archaeological site or a group of endemic trees.



Map.4: Map of Fiji today (*Source: GraphicsMap.com)*

Clunie (1981) has stated that Fiji's heritage is one of *immigration* and *emigration*, and of restless internal movements. From the beginning of human settlement, the islands have suffered sporadic intrusion from east and west. The documentation of these movements has been undertaken by Fijians through indigenous songs, dance, chants, customs and oral traditions. In recent times Europeans have recorded Fijian interactions with other islanders using images and texts. These have survived through log books, journals, diaries and books, which were consulted during the course of this research. Even though these resources do exist, which assists in the quest for researching Fiji's prehistory, Parry (1981) has argued that the study of conditions in Fiji immediately before the European contact has been neglected by both historians and archaeologists. The aim of this research is to consolidate the indigenous as well as the European way of recording migration stories. One new method that Europeans have mastered since the early part of the last century is through archaeological

investigations. I would like to further assess this new method of study, and at the same time compare it to the way Fijians tell their own story.

Fiji's prehistory is rich with many stories of adventures, courageous warfare and ingenious development of technology such as the double hull canoe called the *drua*. Apart from these remarkable achievements, the origin of the Fijian people was known in many different ways and was therefore, in my view, contested. Many researchers have continued to persevere in understanding Fiji's contested history and many have worked collaboratively to identify a clearer picture of where Fijians originated from. As far as this thesis is concerned, there are two views to understand the origins of Fijians: one is a western view based on scientific research, and the other view is based on traditional stories passed down through generations. In the case of Fiji, there is combination of the above two views which Clunie (1981) referred to as the *imperial imposed* Fijian tradition, which was a colonial *scientific theory* called the Kaunitoni migration, which is now part of the Fijian oral history fabric. This story has played a part in the development of this thesis.

Review of the Literature

A literature review showed that there are substantial materials written on Fiji with regards to the search to identify the origin of Fijians. Archaeologists, in particular, began their work in the early 1900s (see Chapter 5). They use cultural material, either from the earth surface or excavated from below, as evidence to reconstruct ancient societies. They also use materials written by early explorers to attempt to map out the pre-contact period. Parry (1981), used air photography to assess landscapes in his work in the Navua delta. Through this form of assessment, he was able to identify hill-forts, ring-ditches and old village settlements. He was also able to utilise oral history, collected from local residents, to identify stories of war, which were then substantiated by archaeological sites and place names (Parry, 1981:30).

This thesis aims to build further on the work of Parry (1981) in terms of his work with both archaeology and oral history. The aim is to discuss this relationship between the two research methods and identify factors that can clearly state what indigenous Fijians know and believe as their place of origin. Nabobo-Baba (2006) has highlighted the importance of an indigenous perspective approach to research. This is

an area that I have personally experienced in my work in the field of archaeology at the Fiji Museum. This collaboration included the proactive involvement and recognition of local staff in the research, in most cases through co-authorship, and in other cases they were acknowledged in academic reports and relevant writings. I believe that traditional knowledge should be just as highly regarded as western and scientific knowledge.

Statement of the Research Problem

This present study is a culmination of working in the field of Fijian archaeology and museology for over a decade. This study is also a record of my personal journey and an opportunity to analyse, from an indigenous Fijian's perspective, views and perceptions of Fijians in relation to stories of their origin.

In this research, I will attempt to answer the following questions:

- *What popular beliefs of Fijian origins exist?*
- *What role do myths and legends play in popular beliefs?*
- *How much do Fijians know about archaeology?*
- *What relationship do Fijians find between popular beliefs and archaeology?*
- *Do Fijians find archaeology an important tool for identifying more information of who they are?*

The goals of my research are:

- *To record Fijian viewpoints of their past*
- *To establish how Fijians view themselves as indigenous people*
- *To understand the Fijian views of archaeology versus popular beliefs/oral history*
- *To strongly establish the relationship between popular belief and archaeological research*
- *To identify why archaeology can be important to identifying Fijian prehistory.*

When I began my museum career at the Fiji Museum in 1994, I was frequently asked about the origins of Fijians. Interestingly enough, many of those seeking this information were themselves indigenous Fijians. There were also other indigenous

Fijians who have conflicting theories or ideas of where Fijians originated. Three main questions my research participants were asked were:

- *Where do they think Fijians came from?*
- *What is their definition of archaeology?*
- *How do they think archaeological data will contribute to our quest toclearly know the Fijian past?*

The main purpose of this research is to critically examine the indigenous viewpoints of Fijians with regards to their prehistoric past and at the same time pose the question of how important archaeology is within the framework of identifying Fijian origin. There are numerous schools of thought that have attempted to answer this question. *Linguistics, ethnology, museology, geography, geo-physics, DNA analysis, and biological anthropology* are some of the scientific disciplines that have been applied to understanding the origins of Fijians.

The Structure of the Thesis

This research aims to identify what Fijians think about where they originated from. I spoke with both old and young people and I compared their responses to other Fijians perspectives, based on my research topic. I also discovered that while some people were interested to know their origins, there were others who were not.

Chapter 1 will look at the existing scientific theories of the first Fijian settlement as well as outlining the importance of oral traditions to the knowledge base of indigenous Fijians.

Chapter 2 will discuss the methodology of how the research was carried out, as well as the challenges and lessons learned from this process of gathering data.

Chapter 3 will discuss the prehistory of Fiji and narratives of Fijian origins known to the past Fijian communities, based on written sources from the 1700s and 1800s.

Chapter 4 will discuss the Fijian views of their origins based on interviews and online research undertaken.

Chapter 5 will discuss the historical background of archaeological research that has been undertaken in Fiji over 50 years.

Chapter 6 will discuss the synergy between archaeology and oral traditions with particular reference to the fieldwork results.

Chapter 7 is the conclusion and summary of the research findings and also contains a proposal for new ways forward to document and assess Fijian views of their oral history for the future.

Chapter 1
Theories of the Fijian Past

To understand Fijian history, one has to look at the history of the Pacific people and how it was viewed by outsiders two centuries ago. Ever since Europeans set foot in the Pacific in the 1700s, there was much speculation and debate as to where Pacific islanders came from. Many theories were developed to suit the interest of the powerful leaders in Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, France and Britain. These countries, according to Howe (2008:272), were rising to prominence and were referred to as Atlantic countries that were dominating the European global expansion. The expansion from Europe went into two directions. The Portuguese went east, and sailed along the west coast of Africa, while Spain proceeded westwards. Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a Spaniard, was the first European to see the Pacific Ocean (ibid). Other voyagers after Balboa, such as Ferdinand Magellan, Fernandez de Quiros, Jacob Roggeveen, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, Joseph Banks and Dumont d'Urville came across islands in the Pacific that were inhabited, much to their surprise. They were surprised because the common knowledge in Europe during this time was that the Pacific was uninhabited. As a result, to these voyagers "Pacific peoples were often regarded as living archives, where Europeans could witness ancient versions of themselves" (Howe, 2008:274).

Despite the development of many Western ideas about the origins of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific islands, the origins of the people of Fiji are still not clear. Fiji is a unique place in the Pacific. This is due to its in-between-ness, between Polynesia to the east, and Melanesia to the west. As Geoff Clark (2009, pers comm.), a New Zealand archaeologist, now working in Australia mentioned, Fiji does seem to be an in-between place in terms of population movements and influences, and this is suggested by population studies, material culture studies and also in language patterns. This means that Fiji also has a very complicated history and prehistory and this complexity sets it apart from its Polynesian neighbours to the east and the Melanesian archipelagoes to its west.

The two main categories of theories are the scientific and indigenous. These will form the two parts of this chapter.

Part 1

Western Theories and Scientific Disciplines

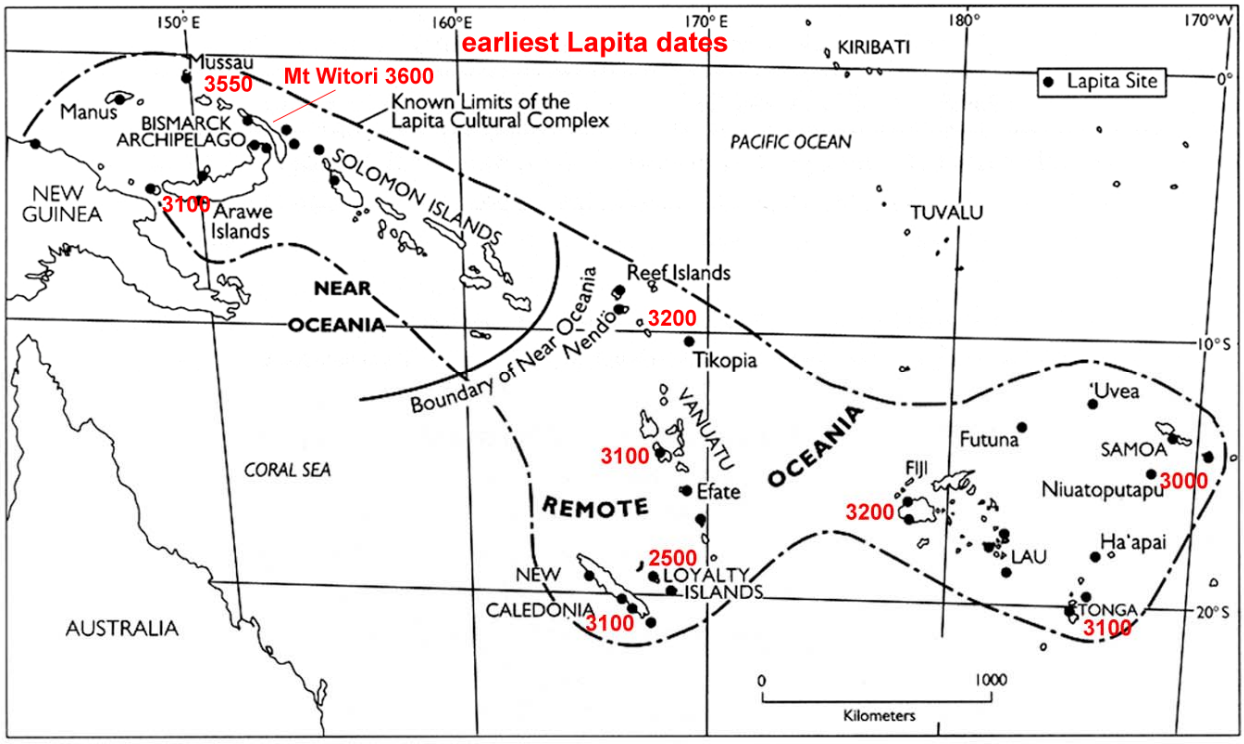
There are numerous scientific disciplines that have, over the years, tried to identify a solid answer to the quest for finding tangible evidence of Fijian origins. The six areas of interest that I would like to explore are archaeology, history, linguistics, geography, anthropology (including both physical anthropology and cultural anthropology) and material culture. All of these areas offer different methods for studying the past and have been developed by many Western researchers. Included in these fields of studies are archaeologists, whose sole aim is to learn and understand social groups. Nigel Prickett (Sand, 2003) confirmed the above proposition by saying that it is time that researchers also looked to the humanities and social sciences for ideas for collaboration in technological and social history, and human geography. Sociology and anthropology all have much to offer. These Western methods of study, even though they are different, all provide information that overlaps (Crowley, 1992:292). These six scientific disciplines will be individually discussed in this chapter.

Fijians[1] themselves have their own stories of how they came to inhabit their islands, and this study aims to identify these stories and investigate what Fijians know about their origins. *Is total reliance on their oral history enough to confirm their origins? Can archaeological investigation assist in finding out this information?*

Bellwood (1995:2) highlighted the nature of Austronesian societies of which Fiji is a part. He believed that Austronesians were not the first settlers of the Western Pacific and they certainly did not colonise *uncontested space*. My research hypothesis is on the same line as Bellwood, but my aim is to establish a settlement sequence that takes into account the Fijian view as well as the scientific view. Bellwood (1995:3) argued that Austronesian societies have varied greatly in the past. Yet for all of them there

[1] It is important to note that Fijians in this context refers to the indigenous Fijians who were the first inhabitants of Fiji. The term Fiji Islander refers to all citizens of Fiji including Indians, Europeans, Chinese and other Pacific islanders.

exists archaeological, biological and linguistic evidence that indicates varying degrees of common origins traceable back for a time-depth of perhaps 6000 years. Austronesian societies have fused, fissioned and diversified in many ways and this is why the study of these societies of Southeast Asia and Oceania, both past and present, can be intriguing and rewarding (ibid). Being intrigued by all these has encouraged me to undertake this research work, and to analyse the six disciplines identified above.



Map 5: Early Lapita sites in the Pacific. Source: Burley, David (2009) Simon Fraser University Lecture Presentation

Study of Archaeology

Archaeology is the science that studies human cultures through the recovery, documentation, analysis, and interpretation of material remains and environmental data, including architecture, artifacts, features and landscapes. The aim of archaeology is to understand humankind. Archaeologists thus use scientific methods of research to study societies and how they lived. Archaeology is both fascinating and important, and is one of the many bridges to the past. Crowley (1992:292) agrees that archaeology is the only field of study that provides reasonably accurate dates for certain cultural features. For instance, the site of Vatuluma Posovi on Guadalcanal has

produced Trochus shell arm-rings and fish-hooks dating 6,000-4,000 Before Present (BP), which suggested a maritime expansion from the Northern Solomons at or before the Lapita time (Oppenheimer, 2003:55).

To many indigenous Fijians, archaeology is seen as a foreign subject that is hard to understand and and generally would consider it has no relevance to them. It is an introduced concept nd does not correlate with indigenous Fijian ethos. With this lack of understanding intergenerational there is no familiarity or popularity yet associated with the subject. Witin the Fijian eductaional system there are no options for studying archaeology,even at tertiary level,either in Fiji or indeed the immediate Pacifi regions.

Archaeology and history are related by their common concern with human events in the past. The major difference between the two disciplines is their sources of information. History works with written and oral accounts from the past; archaeology works with material remains of the past (Ashmore, 1996:12). In every archaeological project, excavation is an important process whereby materials such as pottery, charcoal, shells, human remains and beads are found. It is critical to remember that just as important as the excavations is the gathering of traditional stories that have connections to the materials that are excavated. This is the collection of oral history from local indigenous people. I believe, based on personal experience, that archaeology and oral tradition are inter-linked and must be viewed equally, rather than the scientific process as being superior to the oral history belonging to the people. The traditional ceremony called *isevusevu*, which all archaeologists undertake before any scientific work begins, is one way to strengthen their appreciation of the Fijian culture. This, alone, solidifies my view.

Traditional *I Sevusevu* Ceremony

Every archaeological research process begins with a traditional *i sevusevu* ceremony.This is an old customary way of welcoming visitors to a new place. This kava presentation can be presented by guests as a way to determine whether they are welcomed by the hosts. In this modern day context, the *isevusevu* is a kava (*piper methysticum*) ceremony that traditionally clears the pathway for research. This normally takes place in the village which is the traditional owner of the land on which the archaeological excavation is going to take place. In some instances, the *isevusevu*

ceremony can also take place at the Provincial Office; however this does not replace the ceremony that takes place in the village. The Provincial Office has individuals who hold certain decision making positions, and who become the intermediaries between the local villages and the government. The benefits of this is that the Provincial Office is fully informed of the project being undertaken, and also available to assist the project, should any need arise.

In these ceremonies, men become principal participants. This is also a time for the elders to share some historical information with the visiting team. For instance, they may identify certain individuals in the room who hold particular traditional roles and may become key informants to the archaeologists. In some cases, women have equally played key roles as informants of historical accounts. As a Fijian woman, I believe that women are also strong keepers of oral history. An account of a typical i*sevusevu* ceremony that took place on one of my village visits is as follows:

Personal Recollection of Organising and Attending *I Sevusevu* Ceremonies

The archaeologist informs Museum staff of their dates and plans for research. Once dates are confirmed, archaeology department staff contact the Provincial Office responsible for that particular geographical region. A date is picked for a visit, either for a reconnaissance survey, or a full visit by all team members. Museum staff prepare in advance by identifying the clan's name and other titles that need to be addressed during the ceremony. *Kava*, usually the roots (*waka*) wrapped as a bundle, is used during the ceremony. The size of the bundle needs to be taken into consideration: a large waka bundle (to the value of $35-$40 FJD) would be more appropriate, in particular for the first visit.

During the kava ceremony, there are two key things that need to be taken into consideration:

1. *Who the key participants are (for speech and acknowledgement).*
2. *Sitting arrangement.*

As visitors to the village, we are often given the first opportunity to speak. This generally begins, with some low volume hand claps, and while holding the bundle, with the words:

> *Vakaturaga saka ki (Yaca ni yavusa se Turaga bale)*
> *kei na kenai sasavu. Keitou cabe tiko mai ena nomudou dela ni yavu me mai kerei na veivakadonui me vakayacori edua na vakadidike. Na kena vakadikevi eso na yavu makawa, me rawa ni vukei keda kina ena kena kilai na kena tawani na noda vanua.*
>
> *With great honour we approach your vanua (Title of chiefly clan) and your descendants. We traditionally approach you to request for your approval for an archaeological research to take place here, so we can study about the past and know when your vanua was inhabited.*
>
> And it often ends with a series of clapping with the following expressions:
>
> *Mana, ei dina (Let it be so; it is true)*

Sometimes, one of the local hosts will be selected to be the receiver of the *waka*, which then gives them the opportunity to reciprocate the speech. Kava drinking takes place afterwards and powdered kava can be used.

In all research that I took part in, approval was always given. Respect for traditional authority becomes a fundamental part of archaeological work in Fiji.

Study of History

History is the study of the past, with special attention to the written record of the activities of human beings over time. It is a field of research which uses a narrative to examine and analyse the sequence of events. History can be divided into two sections: written history and oral history.

Written history is the written account that records past events. Oral history, on the other hand, can be defined as the recording, preservation and interpretation of

historical information, based on personal experiences. It often takes the form of eye-witness evidence of past events, but can include folklore, myths, songs and stories passed down over the years by word of mouth. Fijian culture, just like many other indigenous communities, developed its own ways of recording important information, one of which was through oral history.

Oral History

Oral histories were passed on from the forefathers to the younger generations. The passing of this information was quite common among indigenous communities around the world, including the Pacific region. In Fiji, the passing of this valuable information was very important as this links families to clans, tribal-land and also to their myths and legends. This is still important to Fijians today.

During prehistoric times, the old stories and genealogies of Fijians were orally passed within families from one generation to another. Fijians had no written language and relied on memory for their history. This last point, however, is debatable due to the fact that ancient rock engravings, carving, *masi* (tapa) designs and tattoo designs can be viewed as a form of written language. They may not be written the way we write in modern times, but they comprise visual symbols and non-verbal methods of communication. Others record genealogical information through the weaving of the *magimagi* (coconut sinnet) on the wooden beams of Fijian *bures* or *vale vaka-viti* (Fijian styled homes) which is known as *lalawa* in Fijian. Another popular way of recording stories and information is through body art such as *veiqia* (tattooing) and *sasauni* (body adornment).

Genealogy

Genealogies, on the other hand, were recorded through family names and titles. Apart from this record, male elders also memorised intricate genealogical information. The recording and passing-on of information to the next generation was a family affair. Parents and other older members of the extended family ensured that quality time was put aside to tell important family stories to the young. In some cases, information was passed on when children were working alongside their parents, doing household chores such as weaving mats, carving a canoe or cutting firewood. There was an expectation that this information would be passed on to the next generation.

Traditional Songs and Dances

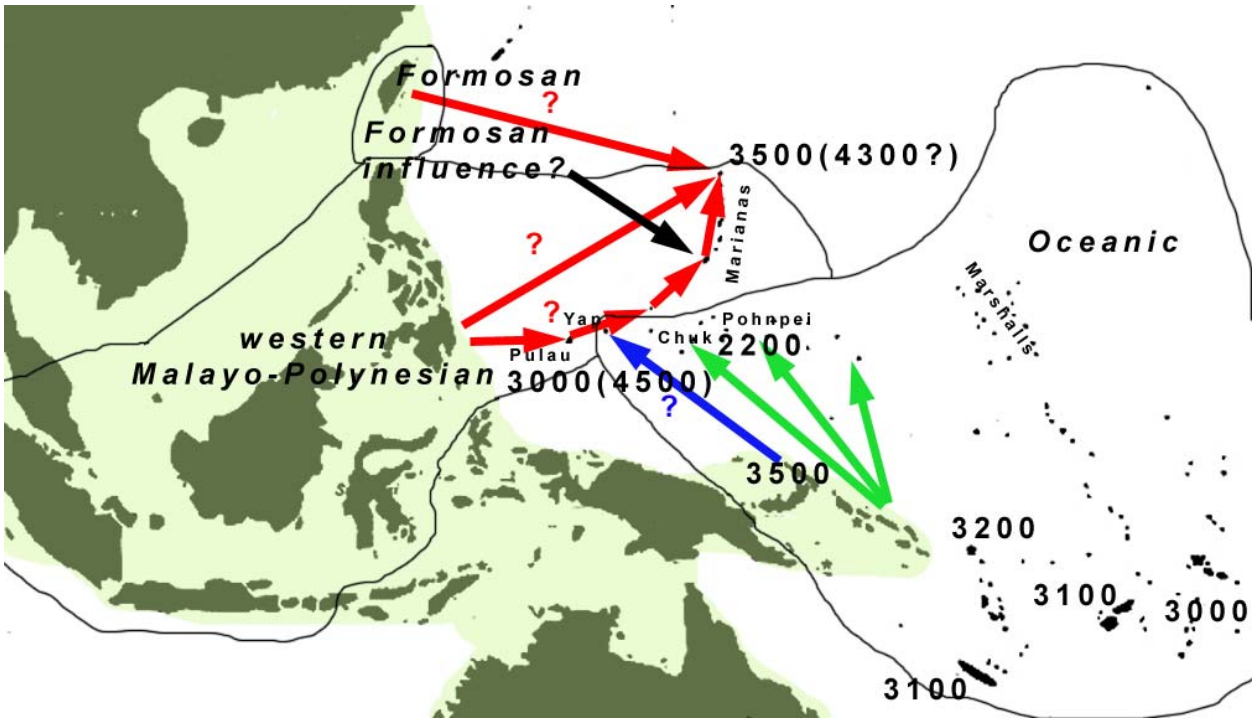
Equally fascinating is the study of traditional songs and dances. Song lyrics contain stories of the past; some commemorate events while others share the experiences of a journey from one place to another. In relation to dances, body movements can depict certain events of the past, or be mimicking people and animal life. For instance, some *meke iwau* (Fijian club dances) performed by men depict war movements and the striking of the enemies. Additionally, some dances are unique to some parts of Fiji. For instance, Bau has their own *meke iwau* (club dances), Cakaudrove has their own *meke wesi* (spear dances), and Rewa has its realistic representations of breaking waves and the flight of flying foxes (Derrick, 1950:17). In the Pacific islands, such as a particular dance from the islands of Kiribati, hand movements during dance performances depict the flight of the Frigate bird. Dance movements and accompanying lyrics contain evidence of past events and stories.

Bellwood et al (1995:3) also raised the notion that some common heritage markers in pre-modern times still exist today, which has assisted numerous anthropologists to identify relationships among cultural groups in the Pacific. This included the widespread occurrence of specific cultural characteristics such as tattooing and the use of outrigger canoes. There are also numerous features of ethnographic and prehistoric art styles that can culturally connect groups. In relation to the social characteristics of Pacific people, the birth-order of siblings and reverence of ancestral kin-group founders are some other factors that provide anthropologists with valuable information on the movement of people over time.

Study of Languages

Language is another fascinating area in which scientists have undertaken comparative analysis with Fiji. The Fijian language is an Austronesian language of the Malayo-Polynesian family spoken in Fiji. Fiji's current population is over 800,000 and half of this number consists of indigenous Fijians. Fijians, however, who live in urban areas or have migrated overseas have gradually lost the use of the Fijian language. Other minority groups such as Indo-Indians, Chinese, Kailoma (part-European) and Pacific islanders who live in Fiji continue to use their own languages or speak in English, instead of speaking in Fijian. Fijians, however, who live in the rural areas continue to

use their own dialects and as a result keeping their own dialects or the Bauan Fijian language alive. The Austronesian languages are a family of languages widely dispersed throughout the islands of Southeast Asia and the Pacific, some of which are spoken on continental Asia.



Map 6: Linguistic Austronesian patterns of Oceania. Source: Burley, David (2009) Simon Fraser University Lecture Presentation

Crowley (1992:292) mentioned that historical linguists can allow the research of a particular group of people to go back thousands of years. Linguistics study can provide researchers with a number of different kinds of information about the history of a society, and this information can then be compared with the information that is provided by archaeology, oral history and comparative culture. The sort of findings that historical linguists can provide to researchers are:

- relative sequence of population splits
- the nature of cultural contact
- sequence of cultural contact with respect to population splits
- the content of a culture
- the original homeland of a people.

Fijian Language

In relation to the Fijian language, Bellwood (1995:541) said that the Fijian language is classified under the Central Pacific grouping. Proto-central Pacific was evidently located in Fiji, where it became differentiated into a dialect network. Pawley & Sayaba (1971) confirmed that the *stay home dialects* in Fiji continued to interact over time. Eventually they formed an innovation-linked group, within which eastern and western sub-groups are clearly distinguishable. Tryon, in Bellwood (1995:19), mentioned that the principal method that has been used to sub-group the Austronesian languages has been the traditional comparative historical method, largely developed in the 1800s in connection with the comparative study of Indo-European languages. Bellwood, however, cautioned that while the comparative method is a powerful tool, it has its limitations, especially with problems recognising "contact-induced" language change.

Dutton, in Bellwood (1995:194), highlighted that languages do not influence each other because languages only exist as entities when spoken or written down. It is the speakers who transfer the aspects of one to another when they make choices about what to say or write in particular circumstances. In the case of Melanesia, it has many languages per island group, while in Polynesia, each island usually has only one language that they all speak, with some minor dialectal variations. Pawley's (1981:273) response to this was that Melanesian diversity has not brought about mechanisms of a radically different kind from those which operated in Polynesia.

Two factors that must be taken into consideration are time depth and language contact. Time depth refers to the length of time a language has been sustained over time, most probably in isolation from another language used by another group. Language contact refers to the interaction a language group has started with another. For instance, in the case of Fiji and Tonga, due to cultural and language contact over the years, both languages have influenced one another, and Fijian words, such as *vasu,* can be found in the Tongan language, as *fahu*. This word refers to the relationship a child has with their maternal side, which may have originated from Fiji.

Dutton, in Bellwood (1995:205), said that in Melanesia, language differences are fostered purposefully because they are important badges of group identity. Another

point to consider in the case of Melanesia is *word tabooing*; this involves not mentioning a word, or a name for something, out of respect. This is a Melanesian choice to promote diversity (Laycock 1982:34). In the case of Fiji, tabooing of names takes place within the family circle. In the province of Namosi, both parents lose their own personal names and are referred to as the father or mother of the name of the eldest child. Such practise is based on respect for the parents, and has been lost in some parts of Fiji. There is also tabooing in parts of Polynesia such as Tahiti.

I support Nayacakalou's (1975:1) point, which is that there are sub-divisions within the word *Fijian* alone. Dialects in some areas of Fiji are totally different and unintelligible to other regions. Missionaries who worked in Fiji in the 1830s especially saw this as a challenge at first hand. One such missionary, John Hunt, mentioned in 1843, when he wrote to the Committee in London,

> because there are so many words alike, one translation of the Scriptures will serve the whole group, but when he visits the people in their villages and houses, and converses with them closely, he will see that it is necessary to acquire the peculiar phraseology of each particular dialect in order to make himself understood (quoted in Schutz, 1977:239).

Fiji, I believe, must not be treated as a "one size fits all" because it comprises people who are different and may have inhabited Fiji at various times.

Study of Geography

Geography is the study of the earth and its features, inhabitants, and human phenomena. This is the scientific study of the natural world, which has contributed to the study of Fiji. The islands of Fiji vary in type and size, and both of these factors influenced the culture which developed upon them. They may be thought of as forming three main classes: *volcanic, or high islands; coral, or low islands;* and *raised coral islands* (Hiroa,1945:6). The formation of the islands provides clues and a timeline of the inhabitancies of Fiji. Geography also assists botanists to identify the floral life on the islands, and biologists to study animal life. Understanding the natural environments can assist scientists in developing a natural sequence of animal and plant life. This understanding offers more information on human habitation as well.

Study of Anthropology

Anthropology is the study of all aspects of human life and culture. Anthropology examines such topics as how people live, what they think, what they produce, and how they interact with their environments. Anthropologists try to understand the full range of human diversity as well as what all people share in common (Encarta Encyclopedia, 2009). The two areas of anthropology that will be discussed are *physical* and *cultural* anthropology.

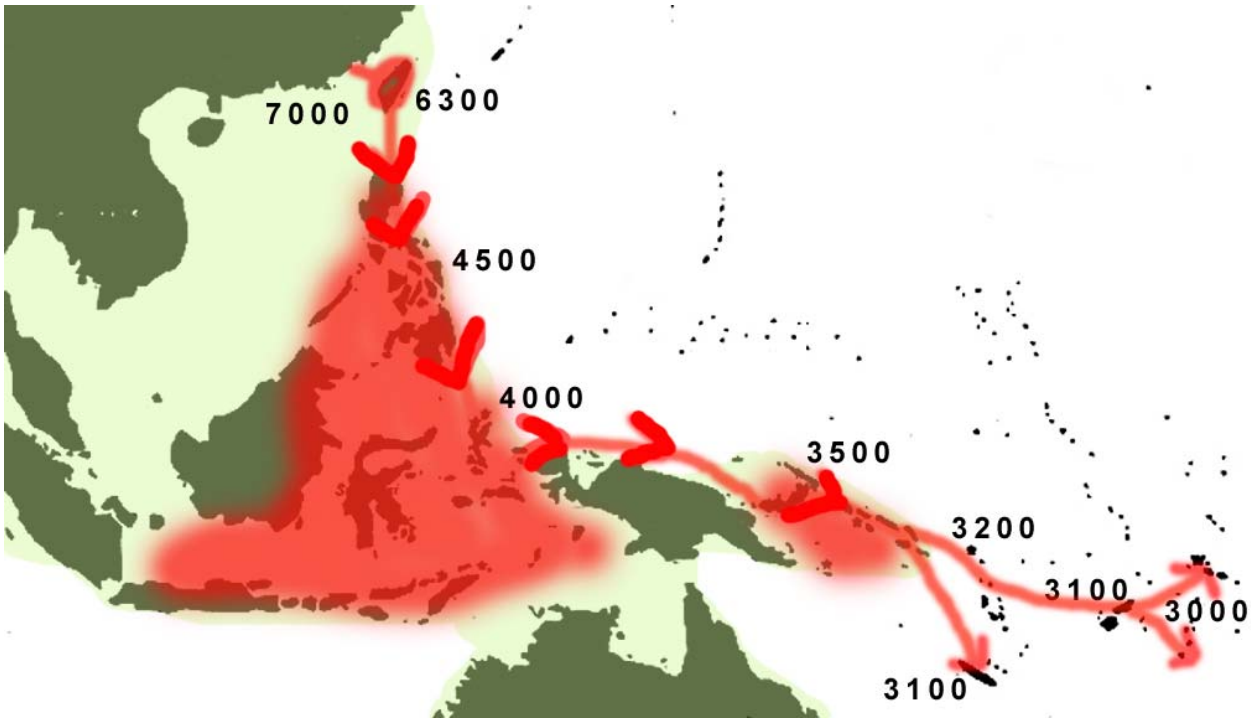
Physical Anthropology

Physical anthropology is a branch of anthropology that studies the mechanisms of biological evolution, genetic inheritance, human adaptability and variation, and the fossil record of human evolution This is the study of the biology of people where body features are compared amongst cultural groups. Research has been undertaken to compare Fijians with other people such as Africans, Australian Aboriginals and even to Pacific islanders such as Tongans, Samoans and Solomon Islanders. Even though direct observations can be made, such as comparative analysis of skin colour, hair type, height and size, other scientists can undertake mitochondrial DNA analysis. In the case of Papua New Guinea, scientific research has shown that there was independent expansion of Asians which took place between 5,000-10,000 years ago. This date goes hand-in-hand with the archaeological data from the same region (Oppenheimer, in Sand 2003:55).

Cultural Anthropology

Cultural, or social, anthropology is the study of people. This includes the study of their behaviour and activities, such as searching for new land and opportunities. Researchers such as Peter Buck, Thor Heyadhal and Hirini Mead have mapped certain migration paths that point out where Pacific islanders or Polynesians have travelled from. Some migrations paths have been mapped towards Fiji, while some go past Fiji from the western or eastern side of the Pacific. The current well-known migration theory from the west is based on the Lapita cultural complex. An ultimate Southeast Asian origin of the Lapita complex is assumed by most scholars, perhaps originating from the Austronesians in Taiwan or southern China some 5,000-6,000 years ago. This Neolithic dispersal was driven by a rapid population growth in east and southeast

Asia (Formosa), and has often been referred to as the *express-train to Polynesia* (see Chapter 5).



Map.7: Express Train out of Taiwan (Bellwood). Source: Burley, David (2009) Simon Fraser University Lecture Presentation

Study of Material Culture

Material culture study is the study of artefacts or tangible items that were left behind by a group of people in the past. People who work in museums often specialise in the study of artefacts. Given my interest and work in the museum sector and in archaeology, I have witnessed and participated in the process of comparative analysis of societies through recovered artefacts. In the case of Fiji, Derrick (1950:5) mentioned that the quality of Fijian material culture was superior to that of their Melanesian ancestors, and in some specialised fields, such as the building of canoes and houses, even surpasses those from Polynesia. A double hull canoe, called *Ra Marama*, built in Somosomo, Cakaudrove, was 102 feet long, 18 feet wide and took seven years to build. Another canoe, called *Rusa i Vanua*, which was built in Fulaga and brought to Lakeba in 1842, was 118 feet long and 6 feet from keel to deck (Derrick, 1950:19). In these two examples, as well as the elegant design and shape of the vessels, the name of the canoe also tells a story. The first canoe was named after a

Fijian *woman of high birth* and the second canoe was named after an event that involved the *desolation on land*. As for other items, such as household items and personal adornments, even though the tools used to make them were simple, the artefacts such as wooden shaped bowls (*takona*), head rests (*kali*), breast-plates (*civavonovono*), necklace (*taube*) and armlets (*qato*) were well-made (Derrick, 1950:18).

Discussion

These six areas of study, *archaeology, history, linguistics, geography, anthropology* and *material culture*, despite being Western theoretical fields of study, have provided tools for social scientists to understand and appreciate the prehistory of non-Western peoples. In the field of archaeology, people are able to have physical contact with evidence of prehistoric life. Oral history, as a branch of history, plays a key role within indigenous communities whereby traditional stories and family genealogies are passed down through generations. The study of languages has connected many groups of people. Many linguists lived among local people, so they can learn and understand the languages and dialects of that particular area. Understanding the geography and other associated natural processes of an area will inform researchers, and also local people, how the islands or lands were formed million years ago. Research has confirmed how climatic conditions have affected human and faunal migration patterns, as well as how those conditions affected the movement of people, for instance, from the coastal areas to the hinterlands or interior of some larger islands. The movement of people from one area to another, and how they inter-marry and mix with other cultures, can be studied by anthropologists, who can study the behaviour and physical characteristics of people. As people cohabited and cultural exchange took place, material goods were manufactured to assist in sustaining people to meet cultural and religious obligations. Even materials used for their daily living could explain more about how a group lived and what kind of lifestyle they represented.

Part 2

Indigenous Theoretical Framework

Equally important to the discussion of scientific theories is the discussion of indigenous theories. The four theories that are deeply entrenched to Fijian origins are as follows:

- Theory that Fijians originated from within Fiji
- Theory of origin from the west of Fiji
- Theory of African origin (Kaunitoni migration)
- Theory of the Lost Tribe of Israel

Theory that Fijians Originated From Within Fiji

Waterhouse (1997:5) highlighted that Fijians fondly thought that Fiji constituted the world. To this day, they will say, "*the world knows"* when referring only to their own group. Pritchard (cited in Geraghty 1997:2) mentioned that there are no traditions in any way indicating the directions of their primeval migrations. There is a certain tradition that states that Fijians were created in their supernatural heaven and brought to Fiji. They did not migrate from another land. One of my informants, when asked where he thought they originally come from, said,

> *O keitou mai Naitasiri keitou lutu ga mai lomalagi, keitou sa mai tu eke.*
>
> *Our people in Naitasiri fell from heaven (presumably where they were created) and this is where we come to be.*

The following similar expression was shared by a village elder in the Lovoni village, on Ovalau Island in 1995. After I explained the reason why the Fiji Museum team was conducting archaeological research on Ovalau Island, he said,

> *Au sa kila tu ga mai na kenai vakatekivu ni o keitou e Lovoni keitou sega tale ni lako mai ena dua tale na vanua. Au sucu mai, keimami sa tu eke. O ratou na noqu qase, eratou vu ga mai eke. Na kalou e kauti keimami ga mai eke.*

I know that from the beginning, we from Lovoni did not come from anywhere else. I was here since I was born. Even my elders originated from here. Only God brought us here.

This comment made an impact on me which thus motivated me to do this research. What other theories are there?

Theory of Origins From the West of Fiji

The story of the *naga* ritual, performed in western Viti Levu, had been the focus of many beliefs long before Europeans arrived. Researchers have identified that this ritual may have originated in Melanesian cults, originating from Vanuatu (previously known as *The New Hebrides*). Wright (1986:78) highlighted that the most important purpose of these rituals was to promote fertility of yams, pigs and human beings. Secret rites were held in special rectangular precincts that contained four pyramidal stone altars aligned on the cardinal points. These shrines, called *naga*, were built on level ground beside a river or stream. Wright's (1986:79) interpretation of the legend says that the *naga* cult was brought from across the western ocean by two gods or heroes called *Veisina* and *Rukuruku*. These two names symbolize the male and female principles in nature. In some places in the west of Viti Levu, the rites were called *baki.* Similar to the *naga ritual*, the *baki rites* were associated with crops and fertility, as well as initiation for priests and youths. *Yaqona* (kava) was used in the ceremony and no women were allowed to see the ceremony (Derrick, 1950:11).

Theory of African Origins

There are numerous myths and legends within Fiji but no migration story was as widely accepted and embraced as the *Kaunitoni Migration* story. There was also no story that said that Fijians were from another place on earth. As Howe (2006, 284) pointed out, Fijians had no traditions of origins except the common theory that Fijians originated from within Fiji, or from their supernatural heaven. But in the 1890s, pupils at the Navuloa mission school were finally enlightened about their distant past by, among others, the principal anthropologist Lorimer Fison. He explained how Fijian ancestors had come from the ancient city of Thebes via Lake Tanganyika and eventually reached Fiji in the Kaunitoni Migration. Even though Tanganyika was the focal point in the Kaunitoni Migration story, the journey in fact began in Egypt via the

Middle East. A distinguishing factor of this story is that it seems to have its source in the Bible. This story won a Fijian language newspaper competition held in 1892 to select a definitive version of the legendary history of the people. This story gained its popularity over the years and Fijians quickly embraced such a story, particularly to advance their ancestral land claims before the Native Lands Commission. For instance, certain tribes used the Kaunitoni Migration story to justify the land that they were occupying then. The Kaunitoni story was the affirmation of their traditional link to that land, even though now, such land ownership is contested due the fact that such tribes were the recent migrants to that particular area. Soon deeply entrenched in the oral tradition, the tale of the Kaunitoni Migration eventually provided a transition to political independence (ibid). This is evident through the tribal affiliations of many chiefs who stood for power before independence, many of whom were descendants of the tribal gods mentioned in the Kaunitoni Migration story.

Theory of The Lost Tribe of Israel

The notion that Fijians are the Lost Tribe of Israel has strong links to the missionaries, as well as the study of Polynesian people. Missionaries traced Polynesians, Fijians included, to the Mediterranean region. A common conclusion was that the peoples of Polynesia were the remnants of people in biblical times who wandered the earth until they reached the Pacific. It seems that the blending of indigenous legends with the bible was quite common. This also signifies the influence of religion on indigenous cultures. For instance, the *Tuka* movement (Wright, 1986:82) referred to the following super-natural beings as equals with Jehovah, the true God, and Jesus, his son. *Degei* was referred to as the creator serpent; *Nacirikaumoli*, one of *Degei's* sons, as Jehovah, and his other son, *Nakausabaria*, as Jesus. Pacific people, including Fijians, have legends that talk about a legendary flood, which corresponds well with the biblical flood.

Discussion of Indigenous Theoretical Framework

Before contact with the outside world, oral history transmission was taken seriously, families were close and relationships between generations were tight. The lifestyle also offered great opportunity for information-gathering and sharing to take place easily. The Fijian social hierarchy and respect amongst themselves allowed the social information system to work well. In this way, many stories of how islands came to be

inhabited remained within their social circle. However, there was one story that was difficult for Europeans to gather: the story of the origin of Fijians. Many provinces have their own versions and many believe their own stories to be the truth.

Out of these four indigenous theories, the theory of African origins, through the Kaunitoni Migration story, has attracted the most attention. It had become popular among indigenous Fijians, mainly due to the European influence in devising a story competition to quench the European thirst for knowledge of the origins of Fijians. Chapter 3 will discuss this in more detail. Even though this story was developed through the work of anthropologist Lorimer Fison, with the support of the then Fijian Affairs Board (through the printing of the story in the *Na Mata*, a widely-distributed vernacular magazine), and the Navuloa Teachers Training College, this story has come to be accepted by Fijians. In my research I anticipate identifying factors that contributed to the story being widely accepted. I believe the two factors that contribute to this are *religion* and *education*. They were both embraced by early Fijians who converted to Christianity, and the rest inevitably followed.

Role of Religion and Education in Recording History

Religion

Three Tahitian Wesleyan missionaries, Hatai, Arue and Tahaara, were responsible for bringing Christianity to Fiji in 1830. In 1835, Reverend William Cross and Reverend David Cargill, also Wesleyan missionaries, arrived, from the Kingdom of Tonga, at Lakeba, Lau Group in eastern Fiji where they set up their first base. Subsequent to the arrival of these Wesleyan missionaries, other religions such as the Roman Catholics, Anglican, and Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) arrived. The Wesleyan missionaries who were the first to arrive were agents of change regarding Fijians searching for their origins. The curiosity of the Wesleyans, compounded by the interest of colonial administrators who had anthropological backgrounds, planted seeds of doubt regarding the veracity of the Fijian myths. The Wesleyans visited villages throughout Fiji, spreading the gospel from the Bible but at the same time gathering different views, and then inculcating many biblical messages into the indigenous mythology.

Education

Education was just as powerful as religion and it was often difficult to disentangle the two, given the role of churches in education. Initially, many schools were established through the churches. Many Fijians, at a very young age, were taught Bible-based stories of how the earth was populated and inhabited. Two things happened here: firstly, young Fijians were encouraged to question their own beliefs, and secondly, they were given other views of how Fijians came to inhabit Fiji. In the end, these views became a new orthodoxy.

I believe that, over the years, religion and education are two most significant factors of change that have caused Fijians to feel strongly about their beliefs in their origins. They are both powerful agents that can change people's minds.

Reflections

This chapter aims to highlight the importance of having both the scientific as well as indigenous schools of thought in relation to the quest for knowing and understanding the origin of Fijians. It is critical that one views these theories with an open mind. To have a holistic view is the key to understanding and appreciating the past. Each of the scientific theories is valuable in its own right. To be able to piece together the past requires understanding of all these scientific views and those of the indigenous communities.

Chapter 2
Methodology

In this chapter, I will briefly discuss my personal interest to pursue this topic of research. Secondly, I will discuss the process of research that was implemented. I will also highlight the benefits and the challenges that I faced when conducting my research and interviews.

Personal Interest

My interest in the past began when I was a young girl, during my primary school days. I often spent a lot of time listening to old stories that my parents shared with me, mostly in the evenings after dinner. My parents grew up on the island of Kadavu. Their villages were located side by side, both bordering two strong provinces of Tavuki and Yawe. My mother's village of Nukunuku, in the Tavuki province, owns the land where the Methodist school of Richmond High is currently located. In contrast to my urban upbringing, I found my parents' lives on Kadavu very fascinating and it whetted my appetite to learn more about their childhood growing up during a time when they still made *masi* (paper mulberry cloth), *waqa vaka-Viti* (canoes), and *kuro* (clay pots). The province of Yawe was the only place on Kadavu that specializes in making clay pots that were eventually distributed around Kadavu and to the neighbouring islands of Beqa, Vatulele and the neighbouring Lau Group.

My educational journey developed a sense of appreciation in learning about my Fijian culture. Educated at Nabua Primary School, continuing through to Nabua Secondary School, the foundations were laid for me. The school motto was *Noqu Kalou, Noqu Vanua* translated as *My God, My Land*. This motto was coined by a renowned Fijian chief, who was the key instigator of the recording of oral history across Fiji in the early 1900s, Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna. My last two high school years were spent at the prestigious girls high school called Adi Cakobau School, located in Sawani, Naitasiri Province, one of the south/central provinces on Viti Levu. The mandate of this school was based on the teaching of Fijian culture and values to indigenous Fijian women. This, combined with my tertiary studies in Pacific geography and history, opened numerous doors of opportunity that enabled me to study at the University of Hawaii,

learning anthropology, and eventually to the Australian National University to study archaeology.

With my interest in the past eventually translating into academic qualifications I was able to secure employment at the Fiji Museum, in Suva, Fiji. This career opportunity allowed me to work alongside local and international researchers in researching Fiji's pre-history. Through numerous hours of fieldwork, conference presentations and workshops, my appetite to learn more about my prehistory increased. This eventually led me to undertake this research where I am able to document my journey in learning about my past, as an indigenous Fijian.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Research

Despite my personal interest in this subject, I was faced with several issues which were problematic during my research. First was the issue of *gender*. Being a Fijian woman was an issue for me. Due to the nature of my research topic, certain cultural protocols had to be adhered to, one of which was the kava ceremony. Such ceremonies mostly involve men. The cultural restrictions that I faced were:

- As a Fijian woman talking to males
- As a Fijian woman talking to older males
- As a younger woman talking to senior women

As Nabobo-Baba (2006:27) has pointed out, respectful language, appropriate choice of words, gestures, correct gifting, and respectful deportment are particularly important when conducting research, in particular among indigenous people within the *vanua* research framework. More so, to be *vakamarama* (to behave like a lady at all times) was important. There was an expectation that I adorn myself with an appropriate *buiniga* (Fijian woman hair-style) and wear the *jiaba* (matching dress and long skirt) or *sulu-i-ra* (long skirt beneath the dress) as it was imperative to maintain my Fijian womanly-ness.This was applicable when interviewing both genders, more so when sitting among male members of my focus groups (see Chapter 4).

Second, was the issue of *seniority*. Some women and men that I spoke to were older than me. For women who were older than me, the way I spoke and my body language played a key role. To speak slowly, clearly and most of all to speak in Fijian made me acceptable to these women. As for the older men, having my father accompany me to these interviews alleviated this issue. There were times when I had to allow my father or my older brother to perform the introductions, and then I was able to begin the discussions. This father/brother arrangement was even more relevant when *yaqona* (Fijian kava) was served. Formal interviews and discussions started after the formal part of the *yaqona* ceremony was completed.

This leads me to my third issue and the point that Narayan (2007) referred to as the *insider* as well as the *outsider* issue of research. Being an insider, an indigenous Fijian woman who was trained in the field of archaeology, allowed me to approach my interviewees with ease. I perceived, however that the weight of my qualifications intimidated some people, and they were reluctant to discuss these topics. Many of those whom I met and spoke to were familiar with my work in Fiji, and felt that I already knew the answers to questions I asked them. As a result, they tried to give me answers that they thought I might want to hear.

The fourth issue I encountered was based on *religion*. A young interviewee who was a Mormon referred a lot to the Bible when asked the question of where we came from. When he discussed this during the focus group, others in the group joined in as well and agreed that we came to be where we are based on what happened to Nimrod, in Babel.

The fifth issue was the different backgrounds between individuals who were brought up in the village, and those who were born and lived in urban areas all their lives. Those who had a village upbringing had more confidence in discussing the past, and were more knowledgeable than those who were raised in urban areas. I noticed that some of the young members in the focus groups totally relied on information shared by those who had had a village upbringing. There was a perception that those who had a rural upbringing were expected to know many of the answers to the questions I was asking.

Another issue I noticed was that some of the young respondents I spoke to were either not interested in the subject of Fijian prehistory at all or had little or no idea of any oral history or pre-historic information about Fiji. It was difficult to start a conversation with this group however when they sit in and listen to the conversation, their body language showed that they were interested in the subject being discussed. They begin to contribute to the discussion towards the end of the focus group dicussion. I am sure that this conversation can ignite a feeling of cultural patriotism which can encourage them to learn more about their history.

As an indigenous Fijian undertaking this research, I tried my very best to be neutral before, during, and after the interviews. In order to maintain this neutrality, I avoided as much as possible any personal involvement, which might have skewed the content or direction of the discussions. I was conscious of not allowing my own views to affect the interview process. With the view to making my research as neautral as possible, I ensured that my position as a researcher did not affect the results of the interview.

Indigenous Approach

Indigenous approaches to research are beginning to emerge. A number of people are working to define research approaches that are applicable to the Pacific region (Nabobo-Baba, 2006:24). This chapter does not argue which methodology of research works better for Fijian people but merely to reveal the types of research that have occurred in Fiji to date. Although ethnological and anthropological research inter-relates with archaeology, I will focus more on the latter, given the nature of this research.

Qualitative research is a field of inquiry that allows researchers to understand human behaviour, and also tries to find out why such behaviours take place the way they do. This type of research aims to investigate the *why* and *how* of decision making, not just *what, where, when*. Hence, smaller but focused samples are more often needed rather than large random samples.

The best research method that would be most applicable in this research is the qualitative research method. This would be in the form of interviews and group

discussions, observation and reflective field-notes. Due to the nature of this research, I opted for the *story-telling* approach. As an indigenous Fijian researcher, I decided to put into practice the Nabobo-Baba research approach which, in Fijian, is called *Talanoa*. Other Pacific island nations, such as Tonga and Samoa, have a similar concept to Talanoa. It refers to a process in which two or more people talk together, or in which one person tells a story to a large audience. Some *talanoa* are more formal than others. The very formal ones may involve *yaqona* being served and attendance being restricted by the villagers, who decide who should, or should not, attend. Informal *talanoa* sessions are more lighthearted, with passers-by often being called in to participate. Most after-hours *talanoa* sessions are done around the *yaqona* bowl (Nabobo-Baba, 2006:27).

Story-Telling Approach

Story-telling has long been a characteristic of human societies, groups and organisations. Stories, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, are accounts of past events, which can include real or imaginary people, told for entertainment (1999: 1415). Stories are narratives with characters and plots that can be full of meaning. While some stories may be pure fiction, others are inspired by real events. Their relation to such events, however, can be tenuous – in stories, accuracy is almost always sacrificed for effect. Stories entertain, inform, advise, warn and educate. They often pass moral judgements on events, casting the characters into roles, such as hero, villain, fool and victim. They are capable of stimulating strong emotions, for example, sympathy, anger, fear, and anxiety.

The Sample

The best way to avoid a biased or unrepresentative sample is to select a random sample, also known as a *probability sample*. A random sample is defined as a sample where the probability that any individual member from the population being selected as part of the sample is exactly the same as any other individual member of the population. I decided to use two sampling techniques: *purposive sampling* and *convenience sampling*. Purposive sampling is where the researcher uses their own judgement or intuition, and selects the best person or groups to be studied (Bouma 2000:121). Convenience sampling is a type of non-probability sampling which involves the sample being drawn from that part of the population which is close to

hand, that is, a sample population selected because it is readily available and convenient. Random sampling worked well for me in particular the sub-methods of purposive and convenience sampling. This worked well within the time-frame of my research in Fiji.

Focus Groups

Using focus groups was an interview format that allowed me to interact with the interviewees, listening to their responses during formal and informal settings. Their responses produced realistic and feasible directives rather than creating theoretical assumptions. This information, obtained through interviews, expressed the experiences and desires of the participants. I had a copy of the questionnaire and asked the group to discuss my question and give me their views, some individually while others responded as a group. I found this method user-friendly as many were interested in contributing after listening to what the others were saying. I intend to use the words of those involved in my interviews whenever possible in my written report.

Questionnaire

A questionnaire was designed, and used during the interview sessions. During the focus group discussions, most of the discussions were written down. For those who had access to email, a questionnaire was emailed to them [prior to the interview]. The second interview method was telephone interview, again after an electronic version of the questionnaire had been sent to the interviewees. The selection process was:

- *Provincial background*
- *Gender*
- *Age group*

There were some people whom I knew who had previous involvement in archaeological research in Fiji. They were directly approached with a revised questionnaire that contained questions more relevant to them. This included archaeologists whom I had worked with in the past. I felt that it was important that I include their views on what made them choose Fiji as a location for their research.

There were other interviewees that I interviewed due to their interest in the subject. Since they knew me, and my area of interest, they were willing to discuss my thesis topic with me. Conversations often started on my research topic, which then evolved into formal interviews for my research.

As part of the University of Waikato research policy, the issues of anonymity and confidentiality were discussed. The interviewees were also reassured that should they not want to have their views recorded or printed on my final report, they had the right to veto this. During the course of the discussion, if they felt that the discussion should stop, they also had the power to stop the discussion.

Archival and Documentary Research

As a primary source of information, I have used in-depth semi-structured interviews, and documents such as published and unpublished articles that were located in libraries, archives, museums and academic institutions. I referred to written materials such as:

- Monographs
- Colonial history
- Scholarly theses
- Articles
- Books
- Journals

Summary of Research Methodology

This research has taught numerous lessons which might assist future research. As well as this, the feedback from interviewees has been a humbling experience. Fijians were interested to know more about their identity. Even those who were sceptical were nevertheless aware of the importance of this research. Many participated in the interviews with the hope that their views would add to the current research data, which might contribute towards better research methodology in the future.

In Fiji, the *talanoa* approach was very effective. This research approach was more applicable given the nature of how Fijians in Fiji view my topic. The issues of gender,

seniority, insider-outsider, religion and education were well catered for under the talanoa approach. Moreso, with the *i sevusevu* ceremony undertaken and the support from my male relatives eased alot of tension prior to the commencement of the interviews.

In the case of Fijians in New Zealand, face-to-face and telephone interviews worked well. To send questionnaires to the interviewees ahead of time proved to be valuable. Questionnaires were emailed to each of the participants and the discussions that followed from there (either via email or by telephone) were lively and exciting to them individually.

Living in New Zealand also opened my eyes to other social networking sites of Fijians in the diaspora, such as the Auckland Fijian Community website and Matavuvale (family) website. I was able to read views online on my topic of Fijian origins, some of which I have included in my thesis (see Appendix 2).

I recommend that future indigenous researchers apply the *talanoa* method during their course of fieldwork. This research method augers well with our traditional way of respect, where the informant and the interviewer are both empowered. As a researcher, one is able to get more information that might have been possible using other method of research. Following relevant traditional protocol ensures the interview process will be respected and undertaken with some degree of seriousness.

Chapter 3

Prehistory of Fiji and Indigenous Narratives of Fijian Past

The aim of this chapter is to highlight significant aspects of Fijian prehistory that relate to narratives of Fijian prehistory, and is divided into two parts. Fijians acknowledge that certain tribes were related to each other while other tribes were totally different from each other. The diversity between tribes and island groups can be traced through the *veitabani, veitauvutaki* and other significant relationships such as *tako-lavo* relationships in the Ba, Ra, Naitasiri and Namosi provinces. One of the questions that I ask is whether the colonial administrators made an effort to acknowledge this cultural diversity leading up to the reign of the colonial government in 1874.

The first part will cover three important areas of Fijians prehistory. They are known in Fijian as *vanua* (land), *veiliutaki* (political leadership) and *sokalou* (old religion). Each of the three areas listed above has a sub-heading that branches from it. For instance, associated with *vanua* is place names, *veiliutaki* is chiefly titles which have meanings, while attached to *sokalou* is totemism. Place names and the study of totems has a lot of relevance to identifying the waves of migration, and tracing their places of origin or points of departure.

The second part of this chapter will be the discussion of the various common Fijian narratives that are connected to the belief system of Fijian prehistory.

Vanua (Land) and the Structure of the Fijian Society

Vanua is defined as "land". Ravuvu (1983: 76) further refers to *vanua* as the social and cultural aspects of the physical environment identified with a social group. These groups of people, once governed by a chief or *turaga*, can be called a confederation or *vanua* (Derrick: 1947:9). Ravuvu (1983:14) went on to describe the *vanua* as:

> the living soul or human manifestation of the physical environment which the members have since claimed to belong to them and to which they also belong. The land is the physical or geographical entity of the people, upon which their

survival ... as a group depends. Land is thus an extension of the self. Likewise the people are an extension of the land. Land becomes lifeless and useless without the people, and likewise the people are helpless and insecure without land to thrive upon.

The *vanua* is headed by a *Turaga i taukei*, the most prominent chief from the most prominent family. To explain further, a *vanua* is the largest collective group of people associated with a particular territory or area of land. A *vanua* is divisible into a group of *yavusa* (tribes). *Yavusa* is a group of *mataqali* (clans) and a *mataqali* is a group of *Tokatoka* (family units). Within the *mataqali* making up one *yavusa*, one *mataqali* will be predominant and head that *yavusa* as a whole. Similarly, one *tokatoka* will head that *mataqali* and one member of that *tokatoka* will be senior chieftain or called *Turaga i Taukei* of that *vanua*.

Veiwekani-

Traditional Governance Kinship Structure

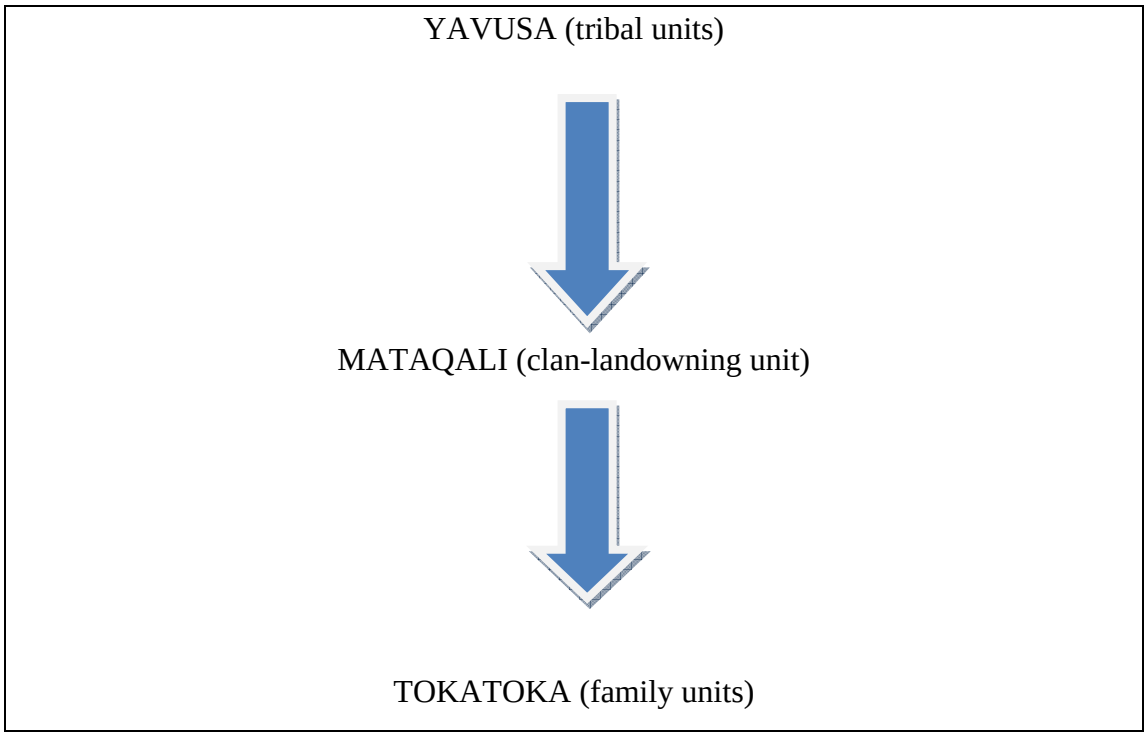


Fig 1: Traditional Governance Kinship Structure

Nayacakalou (1975:10) highlighted Commissioner Maxwell's 1931 report, which described a *yavusa* as consisting of direct agnate descendants of a single *kalou-vu* or ancestor god, and in the case of provinces in the interior of Viti Levu known as Colo West, that was how every *yavusa* traced their origin. The report went on to say that when a son was born and founded a *vuvale* or family, if there were two or more brothers, this gave rise to the divisions known as *mataqali*. In a similar manner the first family of sons in each *mataqali* founded the various *tokatoka*.

Matanitu is a confederation of *vanua*, not through ancestry or traditional ties, but rather by alliances formed politically, or in war, and/or united by a common need.

With the advancement of the work of the Native Land Commission (NLC), the classification of family units moved to the groupings of larger geographical areas into *matanitu* or governing bodies. Such bodies are what it is called *yasana* (provinces), *tikina* (districts) and *koro* (villages). According to Nayacakalou (1975:1), under the colonial administration of Fiji's first governor Sir Arthur Gordon, Fijians were divided into 14 provinces, which are then divided into 76 *tikinas* or districts, and 1080 villages.

Veiliutaki-

Traditional Governance Political Structure

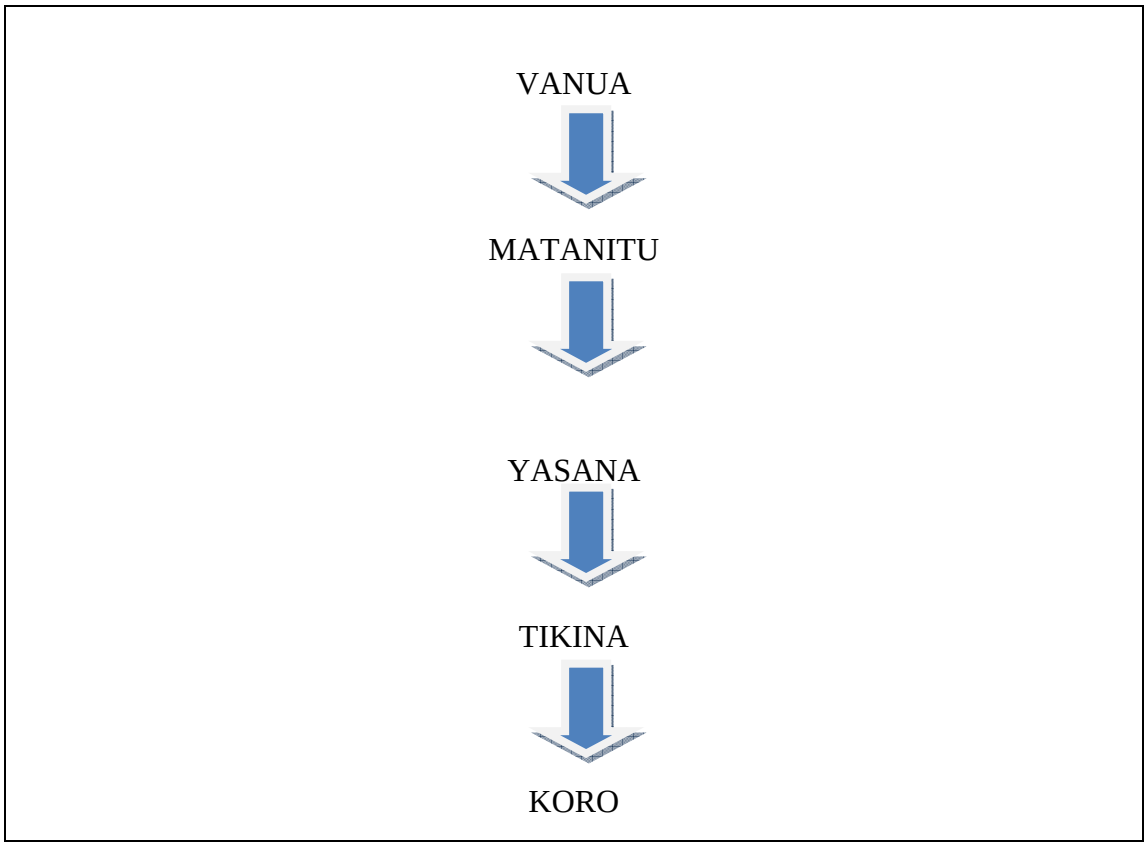


Fig 2 Traditional Governance Political Structure

After Fiji became a British Crown Colony in 1874, Queen Victoria commanded Sir Arthur Gordon, first Governor of Fiji, on two separate occasions, to inform the Fijians that their land would not be taken away from them. Seventy years later, in 1944 a new Fijian Administration was formed. This new administration was led by *Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna*, who became the Secretary for Fijian Affairs. He asserted that indigenous Fijians can participate proactively in the running of the government affairs. The Native Land Commission (NLC) became a very important organisation due to the role it played for the registration of land ownership

In the context of this chapter, the European contact period in the 1800s has led to the active documentation of Fijian social order and traditional leadership from the

tokatoka level to the *vanua* and even the *matanitu* or confederacy. The arguments that I want to present comprise the following questions:

- *When the new Fijian administration was developed and re-organised, was there any acknowledgement of how diverse Fiji was?*
- *The new Fijian administration was meant to unite all Fijians, but from a cultural perspective, Fijians acknowledged the differences that existed among themselves.*
- *Did the colonial government make an effort to clarify these viewpoints, when the land registration was taking place around Fiji?*

***Veiliutaki* – Political Leadership in Fiji**

Fiji was ceded to Britain in October 1874. Suva, which is located on the south-eastern side of the main island of Viti Levu, became the capital in 1882. Prior to that, Levuka, which is situated on the island of Ovalau, was the first capital. Colonial settlement through the setting up of business and political infrastructures in the 1840s contributed to Levuka's economic growth. The strategic location of Ovalau near the islands of Viwa and Bau provided more support enabling Levuka to thrive at the time. These two islands contributed to Fiji's history through the establishment of the missionaries on Viwa, and Bau being the home to Fiji's King, the Vunivalu of Bau, Ratu Seru Cakobau.

Parry (1987:21) supports the strong influence that Bau and Rewa had a strong influence on Fijian political history. Between 1840 and 1853, the supremacy of Bau was being acknowledged in many parts of Fiji. Apart from Bau and Rewa, the other leading powers were Verata, Somosomo, Lakeba, Naitasiri, Macuata and Bua. Even though there were other minor states existing in Fiji during this period of time, these leading powers had paramount chiefs who were the accepted leaders of these places (Roth, 1953:67). Parry (1987) also felt that the study of the conditions of Fiji before the European contact period was being neglected by both historians and archaeologists. Those who attempted to write Fijian history often faced a rather disappointing source of materials such as legends and folklore. These stories were, eventually, incorporated into the recorded oral history called *I Tukutuku raraba*,

which has now become part of the recorded history of Fijians. These stories also incorporated elements of Fijian life prior to European contact which revealed a life filled mostly with ancestor worship and numerous wars. Even though there were periods of *sautu* (peace), it was normally the times of turmoil that many informants tended to remember clearly, rather than the peaceful periods.

***So-Kalou* – Fijian Old Religion**

Prior to the introduction of Christianity and other modern belief systems, Fijian religions could be classified, in modern terms, as forms of animism and divination, which strongly affected every aspect of life. According to Wallis (1983:55), the gods that Fijians worshipped may be classified into two categories: the *Kalou Vu* (gods with origins), and the spirits of the departed chiefs. They also worshipped other deities. For instance, on Viwa Island in Bau, a deity by the name of *Ove*, known to be the maker of men, was highly revered. Viwa islanders believed he resided in heaven while other worshippers of *Ove* outside of Viwa believed that he resided on the moon. Different parts of Fiji worshipped their own deities. Another well-known deity, next to *Ove*, is *Degei*, known to live in a cave on Nakauvadra, near Rakiraki, north-western Fiji (1983, 56). *Degei* is strongly associated with the Kaunitoni migration story, in which he was highly regarded as one of the founding fathers of the original Fijians.

Thompson (1908:111) wrote:

> The religion of the Fijians was so closely interwoven with their social polity that it was impossible to tear away the one without lacerating the other. ... Religion was a hard taskmaster to the heathen Fijian; it governed his every action from the cradle-mat to the grave. In the tabu it prescribed what he should eat and drink, how he should address his betters, whom he should marry, and where his body should be laid. It limited his choice of the fruits of the earth and of the sea; it controlled his very bodily attitude in his own house. All his life he walked warily for fear of angering the deities that went in and out with him, ever watchful to catch him tripping, and death but cast him naked into their midst to be the sport of their vindictive ingenuity.

Rev. Joseph Waterhouse stated:

> It is impossible to ascertain even the probable number of the gods of Fiji; for disembodied spirits are called gods, and are regarded as such. But the natives make a distinction between those who were gods originally, and those who are only deified spirits. The former they call *Kalou-vu* (root-gods), the latter *Kalou-yalo* (deified mortals). Of the former class the number is great; but the latter are without number ... There were various ranks amongst the Kalou-vu according to the extent of their territory and the number of their worshippers. Thus, some gods were universally known throughout Fiji, others were local gods of large or small territories, while some were simply gods of particular families.

Due to this ancestor-worshiping lifestyle, and how they believed that certain deities lived through the body-form of a *Turaga*, Fijians evolved a social structure based around this. Fiji has a rich and diverse culture that has traditionally been governed by a *Turaga*. The positions of these chiefs are inherited through birth, and passed over many generations. Most Fijian genealogies are traced through the male line, while pockets of landowning units are matrilineal. Overall, land is communally owned, and its cultural history and traditions are transmitted verbally from one generation to the next.

Keeping in mind the importance of remembering the past and its associated links to the present and to the future, Fijians, in a similar manner to their Pacific island neighbours, take the process of naming places, people, and their gods seriously, which will be covered in the next sub-heading.

Fijian Oral Traditions

In terms of Fijian oral traditions, evidence of understanding my Fijian past is found in the following areas:

- *Vanua* – Place Names
- *Veiliutaki* – Family Names which includes chiefly titles
- *Sokalou* – Totemic plants and creatures

***Vanua* – Place Names**

Much evidence of the peopling of Fiji is captured in place names. Some place names capture the following:

- Place Names – associated with human migration
- Place Names – associated with natural phenomena
- Place Names – associated with geographical locations
- Place Names – associated with topographical features

Place Names – Associated with Human Migration

Such places were related to:

- place of origin, recalling where they were living before departure
- events during the journey
- the leader of the group leading the migration
- the name of a sibling, or child, of the leader
- human arrival – for example, the province of Bua was named after the planting of the *bua* (frangipani) plant which the migrants brought with them when they arrived on the island of Vanua Levu

Direction of travel – numerous villages, bays or beaches are called *Natokalau. Tokalau* is the Fijian word for east, *Na* means *the* in English, and therefore *Natokalau* means *The East*. Most of the places named as *Natokalau or Tokalau* can be located to the east of islands where these villages or harbours are located. The same applies to the Polynesian/Maori word for *whiti*, which means *east*. In New Zealand, places such as Tairawhiti and Whitianga are mostly located to the east of the North Island and South Island. According to linguists, *whiti* is also related to the Fijian name Viti. Linguists believe that since the word *whiti* means east, then those who may have named Viti may have been travelling from a west to east direction.

Place Names – Associated with Natural Phenomenon

Vagaries of nature, such as hurricanes, volcanic eruption and tsunami (tidal waves), have found their way into the names of places and people. Damages and related

heroic events associated with strong winds and hurricanes were captured in the names of places, new villages and even new-born children. Some common names are as follows:

- *Cagilaba* hurricane
- *Cagica* bad wind
- *Cagi* wind
- *Wailevu* great waters
- *Ceva* south or Southerly
- *Liwa* to blow
- *Sautu* Peace

Place names associated with natural disasters, such as volcanic eruptions, do exist in Fiji. One such example is *Nawaikama*, which means *burning water*. Another example is *Batinikama*, in Savusavu, Vanua Levu, meaning *the edge of fire*. People of *Nawaikama and Batinikama* today do not have the memory and knowledge of how the name emerged, however these place name carries the history of such volvanic activities. Geologists, volcanologists, linguists, anthropologists and geographers can work together to use place names to link to past events. In the case of *sautu* (peace), this would encompass a time-frame of post natural disaster, when regrowth of trees and plants starts to take place, fishes resume spawning at their usual location and village life is back to normal resembling a time of plenty and harvest.

Place names – Associated with Geographical Locations

The geographical make-up can determine the duration of inhabitancy of a particular place. Leslie and Blackmore (1976:170) undertook research on Lakeba soils. Based on their cross-section of the east coast, the villages inhabited by Lakeba islanders were located on alluvium soil. Such soil was good for the food gardens, villages and coconuts. Locations near coral sands and mangroves swamps provided excellent access to marine and other food sources, too. The information from the cross-sections can assist with the determination of when Lakeba was inhabited, in conjunction with finding man-made materials, such as pottery, body ornaments, charcoal and materials found in midden sites.

Place Names – Associated with Topographical Features

In Fiji, all topographical features were named, and first settlements were founded, by the ancestors of the various social units (Roth, 1953:5). Geraghty (2005:11) discussed the example of the word *vaga* in Fijian place names. At times, the word *vaga*, an ancient Fijian word for bay or harbour, is located within a word. Fijians today use the word *toba*. Some examples of *vaga* have been compounded as *Vagadaci* and *Navaga*. Both locations are in close proximity to a harbour. Linguists have played a very important role in deciphering word relationships through time. Numerous place names, such as the above, reflect the evolution of Fijian language through a period of time. Words may not be used on a daily basis today but are retained in place names such as the examples of *vaga* and *toba* as noted above. The words such as *delai* (the hill), *wai* (water), *Lomai* (centre of) and *ruku* (under) also refer to the topographical feature of a particular place.

***Veiliutaki* – Chiefly Titles and Family Names**

Names of individuals or family names have specific meanings, and in many instances commemorate events, acts of courage, or even sad occasions. Before Christianity, Fijians were given a single name without a surname or dual names as is customary today. The names of *Lutunasobasoba, Cirinakaumoli* and *Rakavono,* for example, were the sole names given at birth, but with the introduction of Christian names to precede the traditional names, these names have become family surnames. My husband's family name is *Vunidilo*, which was previously the only name of their great grandfather. He adopted Petero (Peter) as a first name when the Catholic Church came to Namosi province. Vunidilo has now become the surname or family name.

Vunidilo means *dilo tree*, a sea-side tree that can grow to a large size and, the wood can be used for canoes and boats. The wood has a beautiful grain and takes a fine polish (Seemann, 1973:363). How my family from the highlands of Viti Levu came to be called after a type of hardwood found mostly in coastal areas is an example of the process of migration from coastal to inland areas over the years. While the true history of the name has been lost in time, we can have the privilege of understanding the significance by deciphering the etymology, and what it means to us today.

As well as family names, the sites of important houses were also named. At times, certain houses were named after the owner of the house or referred to as so-and-so's house (Roth, 1953:20). On the island of Bau, which has been the home for senior chiefs over many generations, every house has a name. Depending on the size of the village, some smaller villages may only have the site of a house named, while other sites are not named. One example is a house in Bua Province, northern Fiji called *Cakaunitabua*. *Cakaunitabua* is a small reef, which lies off the west coast of Bua, and the name of which is based on a legend. *Cakau* is translated as reef, and *tabua* is the Fijian word for whale-tooth (Roth, 1953:6). *Cakaunitabua* is now the traditional tribal home of the *Tui Cakau* (Chief of Cakaudrove).

In the province of Naitasiri, a location overlooking the Wainimala River at Soloira is called *Nasaraqio*. The name of this place was based on a story of a husband and wife who were bathing when, so the story goes, sharks swam up to them. Apparently, there had been sightings of sharks in this area. *Sara* is to watch or look at, and *qio* is the Fijian word for sharks.

In the province of Namosi at a **c**ertain spot to the right of the Navua River was a fortification, now an archaeological site, which was protected by strong warriors who frequently resisted attacks. At one point during an unsuccessful siege, the river was piled with bodies, for which the location was named *Wainikoroi*. *Wai* means water and *Koroi* translates as more than 10 people killed.

In the province of Rewa, the word s*uva* or *suvasuva* means a mound. Such mounds were used as boundary markers between neighbouring tribes in the old days. Large mounds were also used as a memorial, while others were fortifications, for defence during a siege. The capital city of Suva is located on the old village of Suva. When the capital was moved from Levuka to Suva in 1882, the village and its occupants were relocated across the harbour to where it has been renamed as *Suvavou*, meaning a new *Suva*. *Vou* means new (Roth, 1953:7).

***Sokalou* – Totemic Plants and Creatures**

Totemism is the ancient belief of ancestor worship, an aspect of which still exists today in Fiji. Fijians had many gods and idols. Roth (1953:55-56) explained how

totemism worked in Fiji. He believed that the spirit of someone who had died entered a bird, an animal, a fish, or plant, or even an inanimate object. Inanimate objects can include sacred stones, clubs and other images (Derrick, 1950:13). Animals, insects and fish were revered, and referred to as *manumanu tabu* (sacred creature), while sacred plants were referred to as *kau tabu* (sacred plant). Some examples of sacred creatures that were worshipped are: birds – kingfisher, pigeon, heron; animals – dog, rat, snake; fish – sharks, eels. These creatures were treated with utmost respect by not eating them or putting them in any danger or in the way of harm. Seemann (1862:392) pointed out that Fijians idolised objects such as sacred objects, trees and groves. In addition to these, certain birds, fishes and some men were supposed to have deities closely connected with or residing in them. He who worshiped the god inhabiting a certain fish or bird, must of course refrain from harming or eating them.

As late as 1957, R.A Derrick (1957:13) observed,

> Many Yavusa still venerate a bird (e.g. kingfisher, pigeon, heron), an animal (e.g. dog, rat, or even man), a fish or reptile (e.g. shark, eel, snake), a tree (especially the ironwood or *nokonoko*), or a vegetable, claiming one or more of these as peculiarly their own and refusing to injure or eat them. The relationship is evidently totemic, and it is probable that each totemic group originally recognised a complete series of three totems: *manumanu* (living creature, whether animal, bird or insect), fish or vegetable, and tree.

Sharing of similar totemic plants or creatures is another element of traditional relationships. For instance, the village of Natokalau, on Kadavu Island, south of Fiji, has its totemic fish called *yatule*. The villagers of Sanasana, in Nadroga Province, Western Viti Levu, also have the same fish that they consecrated, creating a connection and a traditional relationship between these two villages.

Case Study: Namosi Province, Viti Levu

Namosi is one of Fiji's 14 provinces. It is located on the south-eastern part of Viti Levu, a one-hour drive from Suva. The nearest town is Navua. There are 35 villages, and in these villages are tribes that have totems associated with plants and creatures.

Summary of Villages and Associated Plant and Animal Totems

VILLAGE	TRIBE/TRIBAL POSITIONS	CREATURE	PLANT
Namosi	Nabukebuke	Yavato (pupa) Soqe (megapode)	Mako Voli (Yams)
	Vanuaca	Vuaka (pig) Kalavo (rat) Ga ni vatu	Qumu Uto (breadfruit) Sei
Navunikabi	-	Toa ni veikau (wild chicken) Beka (flying fox) Beli	Saqiwa Boro
Saliadrau	-	Ura	Bitu Vasa
Waivaka	-	Vo (freshwater fish)	Vavai (taro) Vico
Naseuvou	-	Duna (eel)	-
Delailasakau	-	-	Bua Vesi
Naqarawai	-	-	Makita
Namosi	Liganiwau Matanivanua (Vanuaca)	Bolo (snake) Sici (water snails) Belo Vuaka	Niu

Table 1: Villages and Associated Plant and Animal Totems (Personal research and based on interview data)

It is interesting to note that some coastal creatures and plants are totems for inland tribes. Some examples are *niu* (coconuts), *belo* (heron), and *sici* (water snails). These are remarkable indications of human migration (within Fiji) but also portray a bigger picture with Austronesia, linking up with the Lapita movement. Even though Lapita sites are located on coastal areas of Fiji, traditional stories collected from those in the

highlands areas of Viti Levu can, no doubt, prove that they were living on Viti Levu earlier than the coastal dwellers.

Summary and Discussion

Vanua, *Veiliutaki* and *Sokalou* are three important factors that must be taken into consideration when discussing Fijian prehistory. Although these were important in the past, they still have some relevance to modern Fijian society. Place names, titles and family names, and totemism are sub-categories of these three factors, and I believe that to understand Fijian prehistory, one must learn and understand meanings of names in order to decipher the coded information that would be useful to any researcher.

Part 2

Narratives of Fijian Origins

National narratives are those stories that involve the peopling and the first settlement of Fiji. These are the bigger-scale stories of our founding ancestors. Tribal narratives, on the other hand, are those that tell the stories of internal migrations within Fiji. This would include the migration of a tribe from the west to the east of Fiji long after the founding ancestors' arrival. There are numerous tribal stories that exist in Fiji.

Legends and Myths

Legend is a type of folk narrative. Legends are set in the present or in the historical past, mostly based on real people or events. Myths, on the other hand, typically relate to events from a remote period, long time ago, and generally deal with religious subjects such as gods and goddesses and the origin of the universe (World Book Encyclopedia 2009:183).

In the case of the Fijian island Taveuni, the god, *Kalou Vu* (root god), is named *Dakuwaqa* (back boat). On the islands of Levuka and Kadavu, he is known as *Daucina* (expert light), due to the phosphorescence he caused in the sea as he passed. *Daucina*, however, has a different connotation as a *Kalou yalo* (spirit god) in other parts of Fiji. *Kalou Vu* and *Kalou Yalo* both consist of deified ancestors.

Dakuwaqa took the form of a great shark and lived on Benau Island, opposite Somosomo Strait. He was highly respected by the people of Cakaudrove and Natewa as the god of seafaring and fishing communities, but also as the patron of adulterers and philanderers.

> When I came to Fiji the famed fish-god, the *Dakuwaqa*, was very much a reality. The Government ship, the Lady Escott, reached Levuka with signs of an encounter with the great fish, while the late Captain Robbie, a well known, tall, and very erect Scot, even to his nineties, told of the sleepy afternoon as his cutter was sailing from his tea estate at Wainunu, under a very light wind, with most of the crew dozing. A great fish, which he described as near 60 feet in length, brown-spotted and mottled on its back, with the head of a shark and

> the tail of a whale, came up under his ship, almost capsizing it. The crew, instantly awake and concerned, followed the ancient pattern, pouring a strong libation of kava into the sea, which, it would seem, was just the right idea for placating fish-gods; the monster slowly submerged, the breeze gradually gathered the cutter away, its keel dragging along the monster's back, making the skin pale. To the Fijian crew this was the *Dakuwaqa (Derrick, 1957:13).*

Common Indigenous Narratives

The two types of indigenous narratives that I will be discussing are *national* and *local*. National narratives are stories that are shared by an entire people, in this case by all Fijians. Local stories, on the other hand, are stories that relate only to particular tribes, in a certain geographical area, within Fiji.

National Narrative One

Narratives of Fijians Originating From the West of Fiji

As Fiji is surrounded by sea, many stories involve ocean voyages, over thousands of miles, before arrival and settlement in Fiji. Although Fijians acknowledge that there were many migrations, from unknown origins, to Fiji, some believe that when the first migrants arrived, the main island of Viti Levu was already inhabited. The origins of those who initially settled on Viti Levu is unclear but many legends and folktales point to places to the west of Fiji.

The story of the *naga* ritual, as discussed in Chapter 1, support Wright's (1986:79) interpretation of the legend, that the *naga* cult was brought from across the western ocean by two gods or heroes called *Veisina* and *Rukuruku*. *Sina* (*cina* in Baun language) is the wild spear grass (representing males) and *Ruku* means of the earth (representing females). Wright also mentioned that the *naga* ceremony often took place during the New Year when the Pleiades[2] are visible in the night sky. This is similar to the *Matariki* festival celebrated in Aotearoa/New Zealand and in many other indigenous cultures in the southern hemisphere. It is believed that the descendants of the *naga* worshipers still exist today in western Fiji, and they call themselves *kai Veisina* and *kai Rukuruku*.

[2] Pleiades is the group of stars known as Matariki or Mata-ariki to Polynesians, that rises in the early part of June every year. Some call this group of stars the Seven Sisters.

This legend highlighted the importance of Fiji's location and its cultural relationship between the two regions of Melanesia and Polynesia. Fiji was likely to be a stop-off on the way to other migratory destinations to the east and west. Since Polynesia is situated to the east of Fiji and the main direction of the migrations was west to east, many of their folktales and legends link back to Fiji.

Fijians, therefore, can claim ancestry in both Polynesia and Melanesia and this can only be proved by the similarity in both our cultures and physical characteristics. There are also very strong similarities in food items, clothing, languages and customs. It is also known that the designs of indigenous Fijian canoes (*drua*) evolved from New Caledonia, while the mast (*domodomo*) and the sail (*laca*) have design influences from Micronesia. Such tangible evidence demonstrates the Fijian link to the west of Fiji, and also to the northern region of the Pacific.

National Narrative Two

Narrative of Fijian Origins Confined to Fiji

Tradition of Autochthony

Some Fijians believe that they originated from a group who left the location of their original settlement, generations ago, and moved to where they currently live. Many still recall the stories of the movements of their forefathers within Fiji, but very few can pinpoint the exact timeline or origins of the first arrivals to Fiji. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Waterhouse (1997:5) noted that Fijians fondly thought that Fiji constituted the world and to this day, they will say, *the world knows*, when in reality they are referring only to their own group.

Pritchard (Geraghty 1997:2) referred to a similar observation about Fiji. He mentioned that there are no traditions in any way indicating the directions of their primeval migrations. On the contrary, a tradition states that Fijians were created in Fiji, and did not migrate from another land. Even in the Marshall Islands, a visiting reporter asked an aging Micronesian chief where his people came from long, long ago. He replied that they have always been there (see New York Times, 2008). In Samoa, Buck (1938:294) recalled an orator from Manu'a saying that even though Polynesians may have originated from South East Asia, the Samoans originated in

Samoa. Many people of other indigenous cultures share this view. This view was very common when we collected oral history during archaeological research in Fiji.

Traditionally, Fijians attributed many things to gods, spirits or witchcraft. There were gods to ensure favourable winds for sailing, success in war, and deliverance from sickness. In other words, Fijians were very superstitious. One highly recognised god was *Degei*, whom they believed lived on the slopes of the Nakauvadra mountains near the Ra coast, north-east of the main island Viti Levu. He was revered as the original creator of Fijian people but also as a huge snake living in the cave. The story of *Degei* is well-known throughout Fiji, which has led to the existence of many snake legends, even in places where no snakes exist (Derrick, 1950:7).

National Narrative Three

Narrative of Fijians Originating From Africa

The Kaunitoni Migration

The Kaunitoni Migration story is one of the more well–known stories among Fijians, and has been for the last century. The essence of the legend is as follows:

> Two chiefs, by the name of *Lutunasobasoba* and *Degei*, along with their followers, left Tanganyika in East Africa, in search of new life and adventures. They travelled in their canoe named *Kaunitoni*. The canoe is said to have landed at Vuda between Lautoka and Nadi, where *Lutunasobasoba* chose to remain. The others moved towards the Ra coast and settled on the seaward slopes of the Nakauvadra range. *Degei*, who was worshipped by his followers, had numerous sons. The sons quarrelled amongst each other, and with their own followers moved, in different directions, over much of Fiji until they finally settled with their wives whom they came with, and they founded the families that grew into the present chiefly *yavusa* still recognised to this day (see Tropical Fiji, 2008).

According to Derrick (1946), a *yavusa* is strictly neither a tribe nor a clan; its members are direct agnate descendants of a single *kalou-vu*, or deified ancestor; in this instance, a unit originating from the *Lutunasobasoba* migration. The story of the Kaunitoni Migration has become central to the history of Fijian identity. This story

acknowledges the migration and movement, and indeed celebrates the power of the people of the land, who later had to share their resources with subsequent arrivals from across the sea (Jolly, 2005). Many in Fiji have acknowledged this migration story from Tanganyika in East Africa and its connection to the Middle East.

Origin of the Kaunitoni Migration Story

As discussed in Chapter 1, the influence of the school principal and anthropologist Lorimer Fison on his students at Navuloa Mission School made a huge impact on Fiji's oral traditions later on. The belief that Fiji's ancestors originated from Thebes, via Lake Tanganyika and eventually reaching Fiji, spread quite dramatically across Fiji. Given the fact that this story won a competition in a Fijian language newspaper (*Na Mata*) held in 1892 made a mark on Fijian people's physche. As a consequence, Fijians have embraced this story as an undisputed aspect of their history. The value of this story in Native Land Commission (NLC) claims enabled Fijians to claim undisputed proof of their entitlement to the land before the NLC under Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna (Howe, 2003:47).

National Narrative Four

National Narrative of Fijians Originating From The Middle East

The notion that Fijians are the Lost Tribe of Israel has strong links to the Kaunitoni Migration story. Even though Tanganyika was the point of origin in the Kaunitoni Migration story, the journey, in this story, began in Egypt via the Middle East. Another significant detail is that there are no substantiated facts in these stories. It appears that the blending of indigenous legends and beliefs with the bible was quite common in 17^{th}-19^{th} century Christian colonies. This also signified the influence of religion on indigenous peoples. For instance, the *Tuka* movement, as explained by Wright (1986:82), referred to the following super-natural beings to be as equal to Jehovah the true God, and Jesus his son. *Degei* was referred to as the creator serpent, *Nacirikaumoli,* one of *Degei's* sons, as Jehovah, and his other son, *Nakausabaria*, as Jesus.

Discussion of the Four National Narratives

These four narratives have strong connections to old stories passed down through many generations before the contact period. Even though there are many variations of

these stories in different parts of Fiji, the four I have identified here are common across Fiji. Some results of the field research and data recorded from interviews will link to at least one of these narratives.

Summary and Reflections

It is vital that those studying Fijian origins must ensure that they understand Fijian prehistory fully. This will assist them in appreciating why some Fijians think they originate from Southeast Asia, and others believe in the Kaunitoni Migration story with its origins in East Africa. Fiji's geographical location in the Pacific may play a part amongst the confusion of knowing which group of people arrived first. Place names play a vital role in linking family and village relationships. The Fijian language and its associated dialects reflect Fiji's diversity of cultures, which must be taken into account when studying Fiji's prehistory. The study of Fiji's old religion will allow individuals to appreciate why certain gods were called particular names, and why certain parts of Fiji are related to other parts. These old traditions, in my view, are critical to the understanding of why certain gods were treated differently to other gods.

The next chapter will cover the research and interview data received during my fieldwork in Fiji and New Zealand. My research participants include indigenous Fijians I had the privilege of discussing my project with in Fiji, as well as selected Fijians who live in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Chapter 4
Fieldwork Results

This chapter investigates popular beliefs of Fijian origins that have existed, and still exist, in Fiji. I have also included current 21st century views of such beliefs. Fiji is a country with a rich tapestry of folk tales and legends. Contained within these genres of storytelling are stories of adventures, searching for new lands, war and conquest, as well as stories of where Fijians originated from. These stories, through time, have contributed to the many schools of thought of Fijian origins.

The four narratives, discussed earlier in chapter 3, have provided snapshots of what Fijians believe to be the source of the first migrants to Fiji. Through the influences of religion and education, many such stories have spread through Fiji, in particular the Kaunitoni Migration narrative. School teachers, as well as missionaries, were agents of change, particularly of people's views and attitudes. Given that these stories gathered momentum from the late 1800s into the early 1900s, it would be equally fascinating to reflect on some Fijian viewpoints discussing this topic using online forums. I have included some online discussions in this chapter on the topic of the origin of Fijians.

For the purpose of this research I have included portions of these discussions in order to view the longevity of such narratives in the psyche of Fijians. Some narratives that began their popularity in the late 1800s are still being debated and discussed by young Fijians today.

This piece of research is a personal journey, a journey of discovery, the opportunity to learn about Fiji's past. Even though I have my own beliefs, it was appropriate to cast the net out to other Fijians who are interested in this subject, to include their views.

Initially, I began undertaking archival research to ascertain what has previously been written about the subject. Following this exercise, I began documenting my conversations with Fijians in New Zealand. Eventually, I undertook a research trip to

Fiji, using the *talanoa* or story-telling research approach to engage with those that I met.

Archival Research

Most of the literature published in the late 1800s to the 1950s that I came across made reference to the Kaunitoni Migration story. Publications post 1960s contained references to archaeological evidence found in Fiji as a result of excavations on Viti Levu, Taveuni and the Lau Group.

Fijian Conversations (*Veitalanoa*)

Many Fijians who knew the background of my work in Fiji often engaged me in conversations regarding general knowledge of Fijian history. This occurred in both formal and informal situations. The formal situations were, for example, during work conferences or workshops, while informal situations were usually at a community gathering or at home. The common oral history they referred to was the Kaunitoni Migration story. Ninety-nine per cent of those I spoke to referred to the Kaunitoni Migration as the definitive origin. As a key informant mentioned in one conversations, "*our Fijian origin began in Africa, then to Asia, and eventually reaching Fiji."* She was well versed in the oral history of her place of birth (Serua Province), and she found discussing such topics enriching. She believed that passing these stories and legends to our younger generations was very important.

Fieldwork Discussion

***Talanoa* or Story-Telling Approach in Fiji**

The use of the *talanoa* approach was very effective and useful. Unstructured conversations around a *tanoa* or kava bowl yielded interesting results from the topic of discussion. No one was pressured to join in the conversation and the discussions that followed, and many chose not to.

There were two clusters of focus groups in Lautoka and Nadi, Western Viti Levu, and six clusters of focus groups in the wider Suva area (see Fig. 2). As well as focus groups, there were seven individual interviews, one of which took place at the Fiji Museum. Visiting the museum was one way of reinforcing my interest in undertaking this research. During the course of my research, I had to have a Fijian male assist me

in the traditional protocols, especially performing the i*sevusevu* or welcoming kava ceremony (see Chapter 2 on Methodology). This can only be done by a male, and in my case, I used the services of my father and older brother, both of whom have a deep interest in my research, and one or both of them accompanied me on most of my focus groups and visits. Both became lead instigators in the *talanoa* session. Once the i*sevusevu* was completed, the explanation for my visit was delivered in Fijian.

Lautoka Focus Group

The Lautoka Focus group consisted of three generations of participants – the oldest in his 70s, two in their 40s, and the youngest participants in their teens. All were males. Their responses to where they thought Fijians came from had a similar theme, as they all referred to the Kaunitoni Migration story. The septuagenarian immediately referred to the African origins, and how the early Fijians travelled from Africa to Fiji, when our discussion commenced,

> *O keda na kai Viti, eda vu kece mai Aferika. Au se gone lailai, a sa dau tukuni tiko vei au nai talanoa qo. E tiko talega eso na sere e lagataki kina na tawa vanua qo. Au kila ni a liutaki ira tiko mai o Lutunasobasoba, vakatale ga kina o Degei. O rau na lewe rua qo, erau a cabe mai Vuda, oti ra toso sara ki Nakauvadra.*
>
> *We Fijians, originated from Africa. This story was told to me when I was young. I know of some songs that talk about this story. I know that Lutunasobasoba and Degei led this group. These two, arrived in Vuda and then moved on to Nakauvadra*

He was told this story when he was young and he believed in the story because Fijians have dark skin just like those in Africa. He also recalled that there are Fijian songs that contained the story of this migration. To him, these details reinforced the veracity of this story as it talked about the spread of people from Africa through to Fiji's inhabited islands. *Lutunasobasoba* and *Degei* were the two main characters involved in the *butu vanua* (land exploration). He also talked about Vuda as the first place of landing on Viti Levu and the migrants followed the *tualeita*, which meant they did not cross any river until they reached Ra province. The *tualeita* are the mountain ridges.

Travelling along the mountain ridges saved time and energy. In recent times, Fijians use the *tualeita* to enable them to reach their destination faster and safely.

The teenagers had heard the name *Buisavulu* at school. *Buisavulu* was apparently *Lutunasobasoba's* sister, who eventually moved from Nakauvadra, on northeastern Viti Levu to Ovalau Island, in central Fiji. Her descendants inhabited the island of Ovalau in central Fiji. They learnt about her in their Fijian vernacular class:

> *Au vulici Buisavulu mai koronivuli. Keimami vulica sara ga ena neimami lesoni ni vosa vaka Viti (PV, 14 year old)*
>
> *I learnt about Buisavulu at school. We learnt about her in our Fijian vernacular class (PV, 14 year old)*

One of the two forty-year olds have never heard of the Kaunitoni story because he did not attend school at all. Although he was unfamiliar with the spoken stories, during the discussions he recognised the themes of songs he had heard on the radio. He believed that Fijians were always in Fiji and did not come from anywhere else. Speaking in the Kadavu dialect he explained:

> *Au se mino ni rogoca nai talanoa me baleta na Kaunitoni. Au nanuma ga ni da vu ga e Viti, eda mino ni lako tale mai ena dua na vanua.*
>
> *I have not heard the story about the Kaunitoni. I always thought that we originated from Fiji, and we don't come from anywhere else (JN, 49 years old).*

The other forty-year old, who was educated and is now an engineer, mentioned that he did not take history seriously. Because it was not his passion, it does not bother him whether the Kaunitoni story is true or not. However since my work at the Sigatoka Sand Dunes began to be published on the newspaper, and his family travels to Cuvu, Nadroga for holidays, he began to wonder about what lay underneath the dunes. He found the work by archaeologists very fascinating, and he wanted to learn more.

Au dau vakasamataka tu se cava mada e tu ena loma ni nuku ena delana nukunuku mai Sigatoka,ka dua na ka na noqu dau taleitaka na nodra cakacaka na daunikelikeli, me da rawa ni vulica kina na veika e baleti keda ena gauna e liu.

I always wonder what lies underneath the dunes in Sigatoka, and I admire what archaeologists do, to dig up materials in the ground so they can learn about our past (FT, 47 years old).

Asked for his views on archaeological research in Fiji, the septuagenarian believed that archaeological research suited younger people to study and be engaged in it. He also believed that the pottery found on archaeological sites in Fiji reflected the intelligence of those who made them. The group agreed with his views. They also mentioned that now the stories of archaeological excavations were being published in the Fiji Times newspaper, and aired on the television and radio programmes, people are now more aware of the historical significance of their surroundings. The subjects of archaeology and history are also being discussed around kava bowls and during dinner time at home.

There was no doubt that a lot of uncertainty prevailed when the Kaunitoni story was discussed in this group. As well as his contribution to the discussion on the Fijian national narrative, the septuagenarian had even more knowledge of his own tribal migration history, and was able to speak confidently when discussing his story. Since he was from Kadavu Island (southern Fiji), he believed that they originated from Burebasaga, in Rewa on Viti Levu. Speaking in his Kadavu dialect, he said the following:

Au kila ni o keda mai Kadavu eda vu ga mai Burebasag, in Rewaa. Ni da dana ena gauna kea, eda qali tiko i Burebasaga. E vakaraitakina jiko meri ni da vu ga mai Rewa.

I know that we from Kadavu originated from Burebasaga. When we see today, we have traditional links to Burebasaga. That shows that we originate from Rewa (NS, 70 years old).

The island of Kadavu is part of the Burebasaga confederacy, and the paramount chief of the island is the Roko Tui Dreketi. In traditional gatherings, the people of Kadavu will show their allegiance to the Roko Tui Dreketi, who resides in Lomanikoro village, in Rewa, southeast Viti Levu.

Nadi Focus Group

This group comprised elderly Fijian men (mostly in their 60s and 70s). Included in this group were two 30-year olds, both professional sea-men; a sea captain, and an engineer. The discussion was around the land ownership of many islands in the province of Ba, in particular those islands governed by the elders at Viseisei village, Tikina o Vuda (the village where the *Kaunitoni* boat travellers arrived, fought, and dispersed to other parts of Fiji). All the participants had heard the story of the Kaunitoni Migration. They believed that the *Tui Vuda* (paramount chief of Vuda) had the authority to sell off any island under his jurisdiction. This had happened on more than one occasion, including *Mystery Island*, the location of this focus group. They all believed that younger people should be interested in knowing their history as they will become the bearers of this information and need to pass it to their children and grandchildren.

Archaeology, to the Nadi group, was very important as many theories can be dispelled or confirmed by the evidence of excavations. They would be more than happy to believe the physical evidence rather than believe in stories with doubtful origins. Their only wish was for more young Fijians to learn more about this scientific method of research so that they would be able to write about their own history, rather than outsiders coming in and writing Fijian history.

> *E ka bibi dina vei ira na na i tabagone me ra kila na nodra i tukutuku makawa.Dina ga ni'u sa vuli kau sa cakacaka ka vakaluveni talega, au kila na kena bibi na noda kila na na kedai tukutuku makawa, ke me rawa meu wasea vei ira na luvequ nai tukutuku me baleta na nodra koro kei na nodra vuvale*
>
> *It is very important for young people to know about their history. Even though I am now well educated and have a job, now that I have kids, knowing my*

history is very important, so I can tell my kids about their village and genealogy (EC, 34 years old).

Summary Table of Nadi Focus Group

Gender	Age Group	Provincial Background	West Fiji Location
Male	70	Kadavu	Lautoka
Male	45	Kadavu	Lautoka
Male	49	Kadavu	Lautoka
Male	14	Nadarivatu	Lautoka
Male	70	Kadavu	Nadi
Male	72	Ba	Nadi
Male	60	Ba	Nadi
Male	70	Kadavu	Nadi
Male	40	Kadavu	Nadi
Male	34	Kadavu	Nadi

Table 2: Nadi Focus Group

Suva Focus Groups

The *talanoa* session continued to work well in achieving the aims of the research. One of the reasons was due to the consistency of the involvement of my father and brother in the focus groups in the western division. I decided to refrain from using the audio recorder, which I had used previously, and opted to record the interviews on paper. I found many were hesitant to contribute when the audio recorder was brought out, and the discussions were not of good quality when the recorder was placed in front of them. Casual *talanoa* sessions made everyone comfortable, making the discussions lively and fun to be part of.

Tamavua Focus Group

This was a mixed group of males and females, adults in their 20s, 40s and 50s and two teenagers. The discussions by the adults made reference to Tanganyika in Africa. The two teenagers recalled learning this at school. Since one of the older participants

was a school teacher, she was able to lead the discussion, and I encouraged the younger participants to share their thoughts. Having been brought up in a village, they were well-versed in and more comfortable with discussing their tribal stories, rather than just focussing on the discussion of the national narrative. This provided variety in the content of the discussion.

When the talanoa sessions started, both adults immediately referred to the Kaunitoni Migration story. They both mentioned Tanganyika in Africa. Both believed that Fijians came from Africa, specifically from Tanganyiika:

> *Au kila ga ni o keda eda vu ga mai Aferika. Oqo ga nai talanoa au se rogoca ga mai niu se ka lailai*
>
> *I know that we originated from Africa. This was the story I heard since I was a young child (KD, female, 52 years old).*

The fiftytwo year old, who was a professional teacher, was able to lead the discussion and she encouraged the young participants to share their thoughts. When the young informants were asked the question of Fijian origin, they quickly responded saying that they learnt a lot of things at school:

> *Keitou vulica sara ga nai tukutuku qori mai koronivuli. Keimami vulica kina nai talanoa ni Kaunitoni kei Lutunasobasoba.*
>
> *We learnt this information from school. We learnt about the story of the Kaunitoni and Lutunasobasoba (IN, 18 years old)*

All the participants were brought up in the village, in this case from Namosi and Nadroga provinces. They were living in Tamavua, Suva for work and education reasons. I noticed that they were well-versed and more comfortable with discussing their tribal stories, and were also comfortable with discussing the Kaunitoni Migration story. This alone made the discussion rich and lively and added valuable content to the focus group discussion.

The forty-five year old male from Nadroga province continued to add that he was more familiar with his village migration story than the national narrative of the Kaunitoni Migration story. He believed that place names in Nadroga, western Fiji contained interesting history. The fact that the Sigatoka Sand Dunes are located close to his village provided more reason for him to learn more about his history. He is proud to be from Nadroga:

> *Na noqu mai kila e levu nai talanoa mai nakoro, au sa qai mai kila tu kina na i talanoa ni neitou matavuvale. O keitou volai tu ena koro nei neitou Bubu e Yavulo, ia o keitou mai Yadua.*
>
> *Since I know most of the old stories from the village, I now begin to know more about my own family. My family genealogy link us to Yadua Village, but we now refer to Yavulo as our village (SD, male, 45 years old).*

Nabua Focus Group

There were two separate *talanoa* sessions in Nabua. One was an individual interview with a 75 year old woman from the province of Tailevu (discussed next), and the other was a focus group discussion.

Individual Interview

The woman was keen to share her stories as she felt that this information would be useful in the future. According to the stories she learnt at school, Fijians originated from Tanganyika, East Africa. The teachers at Navuloa Mission School in Ra, northeastern Viti Levu were instrumental in spreading this version of history throughout Fiji during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This woman originally came from Maumi Village, Bau, Tailevu Province, quite close to where Cakobau, the King of Fiji was from. Her family has special allegiance to Bau, with a traditional role to protect King Cakobau. Within Fiji's hierarchical society, every clan was designated specific social roles, and her clan was traditionally bestowed with the role of preparing the body of a dead chief. The death of a chief is overshadowed by strict rules and regulations. Numerous taboos are put into place, in particular with the preparation of a chief's body. With reference to *Lutunasobasoba*, she had heard this legend when she was young but she is keen to know the truth: as she puts it, "*the truth*

remains to be seen." With regard to archaeology, she disagrees with what she refers to as the "*new science."* She would prefer to have the stories of Fijians pure. She believes that formal education has its limits, but our *vanua* or land has blessings for its people. She believes that traditional knowledge is important and must be maintained for future generations.

Nabua Focus Group

An interesting discussion that ensued from this focus group was how certain legends or stories link places and traditional relationships. For instance, the island of Naigani, from the Lomaiviti Province in central Fiji, has links to the village of Natokalau, in Kadavu, southern Fiji. *Naigani* is also the name of a clan in Natokalau Village. This demonstrates the significance of place names in Fijian oral history. Another example is the village of Malabi on Viti Levu Island, in the province of Ra, northwest of Fiji, and the fish called *saqa*. This totemic fish traditionally connects the two islands of Ovalau (central Fiji) and Kadavu (southern Fiji). If these links were to be researched further, they would yield more information that would add to the current knowledge of these places. One of the informants from Kadavu spoke in his dialect and said the following:

> *Na ila ni vanua kei na ila ni manumanu se ika e semata vata erua se levu na vanua. Na ika mada ga na yatule, e nodu ika mai Natokalau. E nodrutu ika talega mai Sanasana, mai Nadroga. Kenai balebale, e jiko edua nai sema vakavanua. E mino tu ni yaco vakaveitalia.*
>
> *Place names and names of animals or fish can link two and more places. The fish called yatule belongs to our village in Natokalau. It is also a fish for the people of Sanasana village in Nadroga. This is an evidence of a traditional link. This connection does not take place by chance (SS, 42 years old).*

The individual interview and the focus group in Nabua revealed how the tribal knowledge was easily part of the discussion. Informants in this focus group were quite confident in discussing and comparing their family genealogy and family relationships with other tribal groups around Fiji.

Colo-i-suva Focus Group

The group in Colo-i-suva was more youthful, mostly males, with the age range of 17 to 40 years. There were secondary school students, recent school leavers, and also professional young men, in the fields of business, teaching and engineering. When the question of Fijian origins was posed, there was a general consensus that they had heard Fijian origin stories, based on the Kaunitoni Migration, from primary school.

One young man in his early twenties, who had a religious background, referred a lot to the Bible. He spoke about Babel, where the spread of humankind began.

> *Au kila ena i Vola Tabu, e tukuni kina na kena tara na vale o Pepeli. Ena gauna e qai cudru kina na kalou, ra sa vakasevi kina ena veiyasai vuravura, eso era mai yaco sara i Viti.*
>
> *I know that in the bible, it talked about the building of Babel. When God got angry, he chased everyone from there, and they dispersed all over the world, some eventually reached Fiji (EW, 21 years old).*

This created a lively discussion as to how far back one can go to actually identify the correct source of a given group of people. In scriptural terms, we, undoubtedly, descended from Adam and Eve and the Garden of Eden, therefore, one way or another, the religious man believed that we all came from Africa since the Garden of Eden is believed to be there.

The engineer added to this discussion that during his travels, he met two Africans (he was not sure exactly where they were from) who believed that Fijians originally came from Africa.

> *Dua na gauna au a soko tu, au qai sotava erua na kai Aferika. E rau tukuna ni o keda na kai Viti eda vu ga mai Aferika.*
>
> *I was travelling one day and met two Africans. They mentioned to me that Fijians originated from Africa (EC, 32 years old).*

According to this informant, the views of the two Africans that this engineer met were based on the physical features and the similarity of the Fijian language to their language. The school teacher, however, understood that Fijians had earlier links to the Middle East, most probably Egypt or Israel, another biblical connection.

The discussion went on to the subject of the peopling of Fiji, and how our ancestors named places for events and associated memories. Some places in the highlands of Viti Levu have coastal plants and sea creatures as their totems. They asked the question *What does this tell us?* Places such as *Wainibuka* (water of fire), *Wainimala (*water of separation*)* and *Waidina* (water of truth) have special references to water sources. Naturally, all these places are located near rivers with the same names. The place name *Wailevu* is also found in more than one place around Fiji, such as Vanua Levu, Viti Levu and Kadavu Island. *Wailevu* is translated as *water in great abundance*. Similar to the example of Wailevu above, another common name of a *yavusa* is *Burenitu*. Burenitu is one of the largest tribes that has spread all across Fiji. The people of Burenitu maintain their tribal name to all the places they migrate to. Over the years, those who came from this tribe share a common ancestor.

A businessman who hailed from Natokalau village mentioned that his totemic plant is hibiscus. To his view, the hibiscus plant is a recently introduced plant, therefore, he believed, those who have hibiscus as their totemic plant were recent arrivals on the island. He also believed that there is a correlation between the hibiscus plant and *Lutunasobasoba*. In his opinion, the hibiscus plant and Lutunasobasoba suggested recent migration, thus confirming that the people of Natokalau, whose totemic plant was the hibiscus, were new arrivals to the island.

> *Na senitoa e senikacu gone, ka senikacu talega e mino ni vu i Viti. Vei au, e kenai balebale ni vanua kora e je nodra kacu na senitoa, e vanua gone na vanua meri.*
>
> *Hibiscus, to me is a young and an introduced plant. That means that places that have hibiscus as their totem must be very young to (SS, 42 years old).*

Nauluvatu Focus Group

This was a mixed group of young and old, including young mothers and a male relative of mine, who was from Nukutubu Village, Rewa Province, southeast of Viti Levu. He gladly participated in the *talanoa* session as this was an area that he was personally interested in. His traditional status was a member of a *mataisau* (carpentry clan) and he believed that his family was directly descended from *Lutunasobasoba*. He firmly believed that Fijians came from Tanganyika in Africa. He believed that the original Fijians arrived in Vuda and made their way into Viti Levu following the *tualeita* (ridgeway) from Nakauvadra, and eventually to Rewa Province. According to him, the people of Nukutubu in Rewa have existing kinship ties and family lineages with the people of Ra which then links them directly to Nakauvadra where *Lutunasobasoba and Degei* lived before the big flood (see Chapter 1) which dispersed people across Fiji.

> *O keitou mai Nukutubu, e keitou vu saraga mai Nakauvadra. Nai talanoa keitou rogoca ni keitou vu saraga mai vei Lutunasobasoba. O ratou na neitou qase, era muria ga mai na tualeita, ka ratou mai tini sara i Nukutubu. O keitou na kawa ni mataisau.*
>
> *We, the people of Nukutubu originate from Nakauvadra. Our ancestor is Lutunasobasoba. They moved from Nakauvadra and followed the ridgeway from there to Nukutubu. We are the descendants of the carpenters' tribe (SB, 60 years old).*

His wife, who has maternal links to Tonga, believed that this type of discussion should take place within Fijian families so that the young ones could learn and pass on information relating to their families. This information, she believed, must be recorded and documented. As a group, they all believed that archaeological work is critically important but that young people must draw back from total reliance on this new way of research.

Summary Table of Suva Focus Groups

Gender	Age Group	Provincial Background	Suva Location
Male	44	Kadavu	Coloisuva
Male	30	Kadavu	Coloisuva
Male	34	Kadavu	Coloisuva
Male	25	Ra	Coloisuva
Male	27	Kadavu	Coloisuva
Male	37	Kadavu	Coloisuva
Female	53	Namosi	Tamavua
Male	46	Nadroga	Tamavua
Male	17	Namosi	Tamavua
Male	16	Namosi	Tamavua
Female	23	Namosi	Tamavua
Female	75	Tailevu	Nabua
Male	73	Kadavu	Nabua
Male	77	Kadavu	Nabua
Male	44	Kadavu	Nabua
Male	34	Kadavu	Nabua
Male	65	Rewa	Nauluvatu
Female	60	Kadavu	Nauluvatu
Female	33	Rewa	Nauluvatu
Female	35	Kadavu	Nauluvatu
Male	72	Kadavu	Nauluvatu

Table 3: Suva Focus Groups

Discussion of Fiji Fieldwork

The diversity of the groups I spoke to provide a variety of individual responses. Despite the diverse age-range, most evident was the understanding of the Kaunitoni Migration story. Most of the younger ones had heard this story from school and the older informants, immediately referred to it in every discussion. This story had indeed

been entrenched into their psyche, and no one had ever questioned where the story originated. The other direct results from the focus group discussions were:

.

- All participants referred to the Kaunitoni Migration story
- The younger informants confirmed that the Kaunitoni Migration story was taught at school
- The informant who did not go to school knew about the Kaunitoni Migration story through the songs he heard in the radio
- The older informants were more confident to discuss their tribal stories rather than the Kaunitoni Migration story
- Totemism and place names were discussed and generated a lot of interest
- All informants appreciated the work archaeologists do
- Most informants were encouraged to document their history, and also to share it with their children.

As well as these Fiji focus groups, I was able to maintain communication links, via the internet, with others whom I was unable to meet during my field research in Fiji. I also took the opportunity to email selected Fijians who lived abroad, for example, in Sydney, the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States. In addition to this list of people were two key researchers in Fijian archaeology, both non-Fijians, whom I had worked with previously. Their feedback will be reviewed in the summary section of this chapter.

I also interviewed selected Fijians in New Zealand. Their selection was based on the geographic region of where they were living in New Zealand, and their place of origin in Fiji.

***Talanoa* Session in New Zealand**

Discussions of this research topic with fellow Fijians in New Zealand took the following forms:

- Face-to-face meetings
- Phone interviews
- Email discussions

- Questionnaires

I was able to speak to Fijians, from different Fijian provincial backgrounds, covering both the North Island and South Island. Most of those I approached for interviews were eager to share their views as they felt that this research needs to take place, with future benefit in mind. Selection of participants was based on referral, and those with whom I had had previously discussed this topic.

NZ Focus Groups:

Gender, Age, Provincial Background and Current Residence:

Gender	**Age Group**	**Provincial Background**	**Current NZ Location**
Female	52	Nadroga	Christchurch, SI
Male	50	Serua	Wellington, NI
Female	45	Tailevu	Wellington, NI
Female	40	Cakaudrove	Palmerton North, NI
Male	35	Kadavu	Hamilton, NI
Female	25	Macuata	Hamilton, NI
Female	39	Nadroga	Hamilton, NI
Female	50	Serua	Auckland, NI
Female	34	Ba	Auckland, NI
Female	37	Rewa	Auckland, NI
Male	61	Naitasiri	Auckland, NI
Male	44	Nadroga	Auckland, NI
Male	65	Tailevu	Auckland, NI
Male	32	Lomaiviti	Auckland, NI
Male	40	Namosi	Auckland, NI
Male	43	Lau	Auckland, NI

Table 4: Gender, Provincial Background and Location of New Zealand Focus Group

These expatriate Fijians were willing to take part in the discussion when approached, and most were selected on the basis of their interest in the subject of this research. Some were interviewed over the phone while others were emailed a questionnaire which they responded to. The summary of the selected discussions is as follows:

Interview one

Female, based in Wellington

Age range: 40-49

Originally from Tailevu Province, Eastern Fiji

With particular reference to the origins of Fijians, she was unsure. She referred to the scientific findings of Taiwanese origins, which she believed was 6000 years ago. The version she knew, which her mother shared with her when she was young, originated in Tanganyika, Africa. She explained that, due to her interest in furthering her education, she had come to know of other sources of information that shed more light onto this question. Prior to this, she always knew that Fijians only originated and lived only in Fiji:

> *Ni se bera na yabakai 2000, au dau nanuma tu ga ni da a dau tu ga e Viti na kai Viti. E sega ni dua na vanua eda lako mai kina. Ena noqu sa qai wilika eso nai vola, au sa qai kila ni da vua tale mai ena dua tale na vanua.*
>
> *Prior to 2000 I'd accepted that Fijians always were in Fiji. After reading up about it I think now that Fijians did come from somewhere and weren't always there (SE, 42 years old).*

She referred to a book titled *Oceanic Islands* by Dr. Patrick Nunn, published in 1996. After she had read this publication, she learned that Fijians had come from somewhere else. She was not sure of the exact location. As an indigenous Fijian, and migrant to New Zealand (which also has a rich tradition of indigenous oral history), she valued these traditional stories and felt that it was important that our oral history should be shared and recorded for future use.

Interview two

Male, based in Auckland

Age range: 30-39 years

Originally from Lomaiviti Province, Central Fiji

He believed that Fijians came from Tanganyika in East Africa. He always believed that Fijians migrated into Fiji rather than originating from within Fiji. He valued traditional stories and felt that it was important that this traditional knowledge must be preserved for future generations. He also appreciated the work that archaeologists do and was very familiar with the Sigatoka Sand Dunes, in Western Viti Levu.

Interview three

Female, based in Hamilton

Age range: 40-49

Originally from Nadroga Province, West Fiji

In response to the first question on her current understanding of Fijian origins, she believed that Fijians came from Malaysia, due to the similarity in languages. She did not know much about her own traditional stories, but she felt it was important to record these traditional stories both on paper and on tape so that there was no danger of the stories being forgotten by future generations.

Interview four

Male, based in Auckland

Age Range: 60-69 years

Originally from Tailevu Province, Eastern Fiji

He had no knowledge of the origin of Fijians other than that Fijians migrated from somewhere unknown to him. He valued the archaeological work taking place in Fiji and was familiar with was the Sigatoka Sand Dunes. He believed that history must be told and shared, and also must be recorded in books so that others may read and understand more about Fiji's history. Given that Fiji is a multicultural society, he felt that more emphasis must be placed on the recording of indigenous history first, as other cultures who call Fiji their home already have their history and culture well-documented.

Interview five

Male, based in Hamilton

Age Range: 30-39 years

Originally from Kadavu province, Southern Fiji

He believed that there were many waves of migrations to Fiji, and that Fijians were a result of mixed marriages between Africa and the Pacific. His grandparents talked a lot about the origin from Tanganyika, and also Egypt. According to this story, the canoe called the *Kaunitoni* was bringing treasures, *kato ni caka mana* (translated as the box of treasures), from King Solomon's temple in Judah. They stopped at Vuda and made their way to Nakauvadra. His village on Kadavu has some direct connection to the island of Cicia in the Lau Group, eastern Fiji. There are oral traditions that capture some of the traditional stories between Kadavu and Cicia. He believed that traditional stories must be transmitted to the younger generation.

Interview six

Female, based in Christchurch

Age range: 45-50

Originally from Naidiri, Malomalo, Nadroga, Western Fiji

She believed that Fijians originated from Southeast Asia even though she had been told when growing up that Fijians came from Africa. She was also familiar with her own tribal migration story and she mentioned that

> *Au sa dau rogoca ni na neitou yavusa e ratou cavutu mai Vanua Balavu, mai Lau. Keitou dau kilai tu ni keitou kai Lau ena neitou koro*
>
> *I've heard stories that our tribe were originally from Vanua Balavu in the Lau group. We are known to be Lauans living amongst other tribes in our village (UR, 50 years old).*

Interviews with Archaeologists

One of the archaeologists I interviewed mentioned that Fiji does seem to be an in-between-place in terms of population movements and influences, and this is suggested by population studies, material culture studies and also in language patterns. This means that Fiji also has a very complicated history and prehistory, and this

complexity sets it apart from its Polynesian neighbours to the east and the Melanesian archipelagos to its west. In terms of the importance of oral history, he believed that where the time-depth for a site exceeds 1000–1500 years there appears to be few or no traditions surrounding events, but in the more recent past the traditional knowledge of events and sites is much more significant. A recent example of this theory was on Kabara Island, eastern Fiji, where the traditions of Tongan arrival and contact were central to the research. When asked about his views on the Kaunitoni Migration story, he expressed his disappointment that such a story has gained popularity among Fijians:

> *I am of course disappointed that a bogus story should have been promulgated as real 'Fijian' history, although New Zealand has the great fleet tradition of P.S. Smith which was also inaccurate and achieved great popularity from being taught to kids at school.*

Another who has worked in Fiji for a number of years, when asked the question about the Kaunitoni Migration story said:

> *This story clashes about as much as any story could with my findings. I have the advantage of being able to verify my claim that Bourewa was the first landing. The Kaunitoni Migration story depends on oral traditions and can be shown as a post-colonial invention.*

Summary and Reflections

The responses from the informants were valuable indeed. The focus groups conducted in Fiji using the *talanoa* research format proved useful. As a result, information flowed and no one held back in sharing their thoughts on the topic discussed. Even the younger ones were able to share their thoughts openly without fear of being corrected or told off by the older ones.

The Kaunitoni Migration story was the popular story that all the informants referred to. Despite the age differences, the Kaunitoni Migration story repeatedly mentioned with consistent unifority. Since most of them had had some form of higher education, they were able to refer to books and authors to substantiate their views. Even the informant from Wellington mentioned that prior to 2000, she always knew that Fijians

originated from Fiji, and did not migrate from any where else. Furthering her studies allowed her to access books that referred to the work of archaeologists in the Pacific region, particularly Fiji. This had attracted her attention, and now she reads more about the subject.

This demonstrates that education has played a major part in determining the knowledge of Fijians regarding their past. Literature play a key role in informing Fijians that there are other credible sources that they can refer to, rather than believing the Kaunitoni Migration story. The work of archaeologists was acknowledged and most believe that archaeological work is important to knowing and understanding their Fijian history.

Chapter 5
Archaeological Research in Fiji

This chapter will look at the past and present archaeological research in Fiji. Research is a key component of validating a new way of thinking, by conducting fieldwork and talking to people about a particular subject of interest. Interest in the Pacific increased in intensity when Dutch and Spanish explorers arrived in the Pacific in the early 1700s. This stemmed, mainly, from a fascination for Polynesian people by early European explorers, such as, the English botanist Joseph Banks, who wrote prolific accounts of his observations on Pacific Islanders and New Zealand Maori.

It is also important to know the *politics* of research. This has affected which researchers came to Fiji, and the motives of their work. Closely linked to this is politics of funding which has become the determining factor of where archaeological research takes place in the Pacific, and in this case the archaeological research in Fiji.

Research in Fiji

The first European to discover Fiji was Abel Tasman in 1643. He named it Prince Williams Island (Seemann, 404). This discovery was followed by visits from d'Urville, Wilkes, Captain James Cook, William Bligh and Captain Wilson. The 18th century saw an influx of traders and with it an increase in commercial activity in Fiji. With the arrivals of the missionaries and the colonial administrators came written language and the means to record history another way, thus beginning the documentation of the lives of Fijians. Such written records can be found in numerous archives and museums around the world, in the form of books, diaries, journals and log books.

Ethnological and Anthropological Research

Although the focus of this chapter is on the archaeological research of Fiji, it is important to note that other scientific research has taken place, in various parts of Fiji. For example, in 1860, these researchers worked in the province of Namosi, in southeast Viti Levu:

19th Century Ethnological and Anthropological Research in Fiji

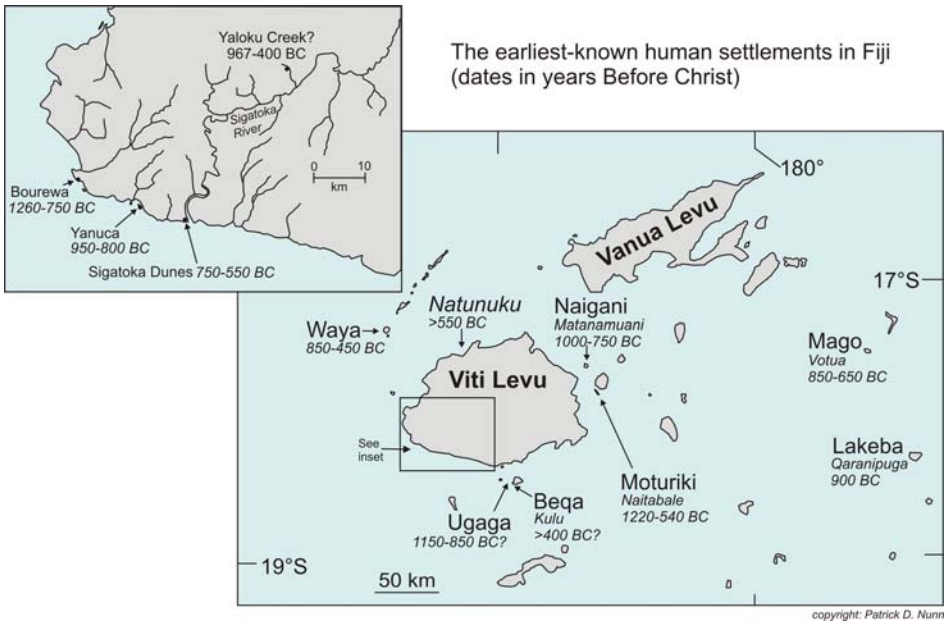
Year	Researcher	Subject of research	Locations
July 1860	W.T Pritchard	Anthropology	Namosi
	Dr. Berthold Seeman	Anthropology	Namosi
August 1860	Dr. Berthold Seeman	Anthropology	Navua River
	Colonel W.J Smythe	Anthropology	Navua River
	Rev. J Waterhouse	Ethnology	Navua River
	W.T Prichard	Anthropology	Navua River

Table 5:19th C. Ethnological and Anthropological Research in Fiji

Beginning of Archaeological Research in Fiji

Fiji was more likely to be classified as a Melanesian island by historians and other researchers, except for archaeologists, who classified Fiji under West Polynesia. In the early 1900s, there was a continuous fascination with Polynesian origins. Most of the past research was collaborative between different institutions and researchers. For example, anthropologists and archaeologists were working together within the framework of the Polynesian Triangle (consisting of New Zealand, Rapanui and Hawaii).

Many continued to work collaboratively to document the range of field evidence discovered through excavations on different islands. Materials from these excavations were analysed, mainly to develop ceramic sequences, and to identify regional differences.



Map 8: Earliest-Known Human Settlements in Fiji.Source: Nunn, Patrick (2009).

Origin of the Polynesia Homeland Project

Fiji and West Polynesia have often been referred to as the Polynesian Homeland. In the early 1900s when William McKern began his pioneering archaeology fieldwork in Tonga, the Polynesian Homeland Project was born. This was a collaborative project supported by institutions with financial support from New Zealand, Australia and the USA. Fiji was included in the Polynesian Homeland project. McKern's archaeological work in Tonga was a new beginning in archaeological research for Fiji.

The fascination of Polynesian origins, as discussed earlier, began in the 1700s. European scientists and explorers came face-to-face with Polynesians and wondered where they had originated from. Many who have been to the Society Islands, Hawaii and even Aotearoa/New Zealand have noticed similarities in physical features, language and material culture. Joseph Banks, in 1770, noted this similarity and pointed out that the possible origin of these people (Polynesians) would have been from the west of the Pacific (Addison, 2008 (21):7). His observation was recorded as follows,

> From the similarity of customs, the still greater of traditions and the almost identical sameness of language between these people and those of the islands in the south seas, there remains little doubt that they came originally from the

> same source: but where that source is future experience may teach us, at present I can say no more than I firmly believe that it is to the westward and by no means to the East (Beagelehole, 1963 (11):37).

The debate on Polynesian origins continued through the centuries and much research was done in the field of philology, traditions, ethnology, physical anthropology and voyaging capabilities. However, archaeology was still a vacuum. As time went by, archaeology became popular in the 1950s, as the amount of research increased. Modern studies of linguistics began to have a strong influence in the research into Polynesian prehistory. Emory (1963) and Green (1966) used linguistics as a guide to understanding patterns of prehistoric settlement. It came to a stage where the excitement of language equalled the excitement of archaeology, in particular with the findings of Lapita pottery in Kone, New Caledonia, by Richard Shutler in 1960. Linguists could see a similar trend with the evidence found by archaeologists. For instance, some archaeologists have recognised the Lapita pottery was made by specialist groups who exchanged these potteries with other islanders for several centuries and spoke the Austronesian language from South China to Taiwan towards .the Malay peninsula and Java, through the Philippines towards the Celebes and the Moluccas. During the second millennium BC, one of these Austronesian groups would have followed the north coast of New Guinea and progressively contributed to the creation of a new society derived from contact with the Oceanic populations already installed in the Bismark archipelago for over 30,000 years (Sand,1999:21).

In all these discussions surrounding the proposed homeland within the Polynesian triangle, Green (1967b:236) pointed out the important role Fiji played in the development of Polynesians in eastern Melanesia (Addison, 2008:8).

The Bishop Museum's Bayard Dominick Expeditions

In 1920, Herbert Gregory, the newly appointed Director of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii, convened the first Pan-Pacific Congress in Honolulu. A resolution was drawn and passed for a coordinated approach to Polynesian anthropology research to also include archaeology. For every expedition in the islands, an archaeologist and ethnologist must undertake their research together on an island. This approach led to the Bishop Museum's Bayard Dominick Expeditions. The archaeologists were

required to study the material culture and conduct surveys. They also were required to select typical sites for detailed survey and carry out excavations. The main objective was to establish chronology. In the case of Tonga, William McKern was the archaeologist, while Edward Gifford, who eventually undertook further archaeological work in Fiji, was the ethnologist.

Within this expedition, the archaeological work in the Pacific was placed within the anthropology framework. The turning point for archaeological research in Fiji began after the Second World War. In the case of Fiji, it was difficult to separate anthropology from archaeology. Edward Gifford's work in Tonga was focused on mythology and social organisation. However, when he came to Fiji, his main interest was on pottery, one reason being that traditional pottery-making was still practiced.

Archaeologists who have undertaken research in Fiji from the 1940s to mid 1990s

Year	**Researcher**	**Country**	**Location**
1947	EW Gifford	United States of America	Vuda Navatu
1963	Roger Green	New Zealand	Sigatoka
1964	Bruce Palmer	Fiji	
1965	Lawrence & Helen Birks	New Zealand	Sigatoka Sand Dunes
1967	Elizabeth Shaw	United States of America	Taveuni
1974 & 1979	Everett Frost	United States of America	Taveuni
1977	Atholl Anderson	Australia	Lakeba
1980	John Parry	Canada	Rewa/Navua
1980	Terry Hunt	United States of America	Yanuca
1984	Simon Best	New Zealand	Lakeba
1986	Terry Hunt	United States of America	Yanuca
1988	Andrew Crosby	United Kingdom	Beqa
1980	Jeffrey Clarke	United States of America	Kabara

	Terry Hunt	University of Hawaii	
1992	Yvonne Marshall	University of Southampton	Sigatoka Sand Dunes

Table 6: Archaeologists involved in archaeological research in Fiji from 1940 to mid 1990s

1940 – 1960

Edward Gifford's work in 1947 laid the foundations for subsequent archaeological research to be undertaken in Fiji. Most archaeologists who have worked in Fiji acknowledged all the pioneering work that had been done by Gifford. Gifford surface-collected 39 sites and excavated 2 sites: Navatu (Site 17) and Vuda (Site 26). Both of these sites were mentioned in the Kaunitoni Migration story as ancestral sites. Vuda was reputed to be the first settlement site on Viti Levu.

Gifford was not able to confirm a sequence for Fiji. Despite this, his work was still acknowledged and also revised by his peers. Dr. Lindsay Verrier collected sherds from one or both sites and analysed the Lapita decorated pottery, including those that had mat and leaf decorations. Gifford compared Fijian pottery with the pottery collected in Tonga. He supported McKern's view that Tongan pottery was a late introduction from Fiji. This supported evidence proving Fijian trade movements with the Pacific Islands. Similar to Tonga, pottery was also found on Marquesas, which was traced back to Fiji.

1960 – 1980

Following a hiatus after Gifford's work in Fiji in 1947, archaeological work resumed in the early 1960s. Bruce Palmer, a New Zealander who was appointed Director of the Fiji Museum in 1962, began a coordinated research programme in Fiji before his sudden death in 1974. One of Palmer's contributions to Fiji's archaeological research was the establishment of the formal site recording and numbering scheme. This scheme was similar to the recording already taking place in New Zealand. In 1964, the British Museum was able to fund Colin Smart to undertake a survey and test excavations on Kabara in the Lau Islands. In 1965, the second stage of the Polynesian Programme provided further funding for archaeological work in Fiji and Palmer set

up a two-year Sigatoka Research Project. This involved site surveys along the Sigatoka River Valley, the study of contemporary pottery-making communities, excavations by Lawrence and Helen Birks at the Sigatoka Sand Dunes, and Terry Hunt excavating at Yanuca Island (Addison and Sand, 2008:15). Les Lockerbie, from the Otago Museum, also excavated coastal sites in Fiji at this time but his results were not published.

The excavation undertaken by the Birks at Sigatoka provided important results that were subsequently used by archaeologists who later worked at the sand dune site. The result of their work was the separation of the three occupational levels known as Level 1, Level 2 and Level 3. Based on these levels, archaeologists now have the ability to reconstruct various vessel forms that reflected these occupational layers. Not only was pottery in abundance on the dune site, human remains were also excavated. Fifty-eight individuals were located in 1994, and other burials discovered in 2000.

Apart from the work on Sigatoka, Palmer directed other research work by Elizabeth Shaw on Natunuku, Ba Province, northeast of Viti Levu. Palmer continued to undertake further research on Wakaya Island in the Lomaiviti province.

1980 – 1990

Active archaeological research in Fiji increased in intensity in the 1980s and 1990s. The reason was due largely to the pro-activeness of the Fiji Museum in facilitating research with those from other parts of the world.

In the 1980s, the Fiji Museum Society had anthropologists and scientists among its members, many of whom were expatriates. Their interest in Fiji's history motivated them to document and then publish their work. The Fiji Museum directors requested that these works be published, and such papers were documented in the Journal of Polynesian Society (JPS) and the Fiji Museum quarterly journal, *Domodomo*. The lasting legacy of this anthropological and archaeological research work undertaken by these expatriates is the beneficial contribution to the ever-increasing knowledge-base unravelling the mysteries of Fijian origin.

1990 – 2000

In 1994, the Fiji Museum employed an expatriate archaeologist from Australia, through the Australian Volunteers Abroad programme. In the same year, the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) also provided an archaeologist to assist in the development of an Archaeology Department at the museum. New policies and processes were in place and more research projects were programmed in. The aim at that time was to extend fieldwork to cover as much of Fiji as possible.

International researchers were now well-funded, thus allowing fieldwork to involve big groups of people over longer periods of time. There are many opportunities for more than one institution to collaborate on a project. Local students were also used as research assistants and volunteers.

21st Century

Recently, more archaeological projects have been concentrating on the western side of Fiji, mainly in the provinces of Nadroga and Ba. In Nadroga, the Sigatoka Sand Dunes have attracted a huge number of researchers from Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Dr. Julie Field, one of Dr. Terry Hunt's students from the University of Hawaii, returned to Fiji in 2001 to undertake in-depth archaeological work on Tatuba Cave, located on the province of Nadroga. In the province of Ba, the Yasawa group attracted teams of researchers from the University of Hawaii led by Dr. Hunt.

The University of the South Pacific has also been playing an active role in undertaking research in Fiji through its Geography Department. Funding for an Archaeology Department at the university has been proving difficult to obtain; however this does not deter enthusiastic researchers from continuing to undertake research projects with very limited resources. The university has been actively researching in the Lomaiviti Group, Lau group and Bourewa site on the western side of Viti Levu, where a new archaeological site has been un-earthed (*see case study discussion*). Carbon dates from this site have shown human occupation from 1350 BC, much older than the Natunuku site, in Ba.

Research Permit System

In 1994, the Fiji Museum began implementing a research permit system. It became compulsory for all researchers to apply for official approval. Each research project was bounded by strict requirements, one of which was the return of reports to the local communities where the research took place. This permit was also legally binding and recognised by the Ministry of Fijian Affairs and the Ministry of Education.

Researchers who have worked in Fiji from 1996 to 2010

Year	Researcher	Institutions	Location
1996	David Burley	Simon Fraser University	Sigatoka Sand Dunes
1996	Atholl Anderson	Australian National University	Natunuku, Mago Is, Yacata/Kaibu/Vatuvara
1996	Geoff Clark	Australian National University	Narewa (Navatu)
1997	Terry Hunt	University of Hawaii	Waya Island
1997	Frederique Valentin	Institute of Biological Anthropology	Cikobia
1998	Trevor Worthy	Australian National University	Volivoli Caves Joske's Thumb
1998	David Burley	Simon Fraser University	Sigatoka Sand Dunes
1998	Kieran Hosty	Australian Maritime Museum	Levuka Harbour
1999	Terry Hunt	University of Hawaii	Waya Island
1999	Frederique Valentin	Institute of Biological Anthropology	Cikobia Island
2000	Janet Franklin	University of San Diego, USA	Lakeba
2000	Geoff Clark	Australian National University	Vanua Balavu Mago
2000	David Burley	Simon Fraser University	Sigatoka Sand Dunes
2001	Julie Field	University of Hawaii	Sigatoka Valley
2001	Ethan Cochrane	University of Hawaii	Waya Island
2001	David Steadman	Florida	Lakeba Island

			Aiwa Nayau
2002	Terry Hunt	University of Hawaii	Nacula, Yasawa
2002	Patrick Nunn	University of the South Pacific	Moturiki Island
2003	Ethan Cochrane	University of Hawaii	Nacula Island
2003	Sharyn Jones	USA	Lakeba Aiwa Nayau
2004	Patrick Nunn	University of the South Pacific	Bourewa
2005	Patrick Nunn	University of the South Pacific	Natadole Rove
2006	Ethan Cochrane	University of Hawaii	Malolo Islands Survey
2006	Dudley Gardner	Western Wyoming Community College	Chinese Features and Structures
2006	Geoff Clark/Tarisi Vunidilo	Australian National University/Waikato Museum	Kabara
2006	David Burley	Simon Fraser University	Sigatoka Sand Dunes
2007	Patrick Nunn	University of the South Pacific	Bourewa
2007	Dudley Gardner	Western Wyoming Community College	Chinese Features and Structures
2007	Maria Cruz	University of California, Berkley	Fijian Rock Art
2007	Kiho Yaoita		Levuka Historic Town
2008	Dudley Gardner	Western Wyoming Community College	Chinese Features and Structures
2008	David Burley	Simon Fraser University	Sigatoka Sand Dunes
2008	Margaret Purser	Sonoma State University, California, USA	Levuka Town
2008	Maria Cruz	University of California, Berkley	Moturiki
2009	Ethan Cochrane	University of Hawaii	Tavua Island, Malolo
2009	Dudley Gardner	Western Wyoming Community College	Chinese Features and Structure
2009	Sainimere Veitata	University of the South Pacific, Fiji	Ba-Geography and Archaeology
2009	Margaret Purser	Sonoma State University,	Levuka

		California, USA	
2009	David Burley	Simon Fraser University	Kadavu
2009	David Burley	Simon Fraser University	Vanua Levu Coastal Survey
2010	David Burley	Simon Fraser University	Sigatoka Sand Dunes
2010	David Burley	Simon Fraser University	Kadavu
2010	David Burley	Simon Fraser University	Vanua Levu

Table 7: Researchers who have worked in Fiji since 1996

The New Millennium

Interest in Fiji's archaeology increased after the year 2000. It was heartening to see indigenous staff working alongside staff from the University of the South Pacific, the regional University based in Suva. Below are three case studies of the research conducted jointly by the Fiji Museum and the University of the South Pacific.

2002

Case study one: 2800 year-old pottery discovered on Moturiki Island

While running a postgraduate student fieldtrip on scenic Moturiki Island, just off the southwest coast of Ovalau Island in central Fiji, Patrick Nunn, from the University of the South Pacific, stumbled across some pottery sherds decorated in a dentate style characteristic of the earliest settlers of the Fiji Islands, the Lapita people. This was the first Lapita site so far discovered on the islands of Ovalau and Moturiki, although one on Naigani Island, northwest of Ovalau, has been known of for twenty years.

2003

Case study two: Bourewa, Western Fiji

Recent work by scientists has uncovered several Lapita settlement sites in western, eastern and northern Fiji. Led by Patrick Nunn, and Tomo Ishimura, of Kyoto University, and including Sepeti Matararaba (Field Researcher Officer), from the Fiji Museum, the research team conducted archaeological research in the Bourewa coastal flats in Natadola. The team has conducted three consecutive years of research on the area mentioned and has continually identified many interesting artefacts, such as

pottery with dentate stamp motifs (Lapita), shell armbands/ornaments, stone adzes and skeletal remains. In 2003 the team spent 14 days in Sanasana village, and visited Rove coastal flat and Bourewa, scouring these coastlines for concentrations of the distinctively decorated Lapita pottery. In 2004 and 2005 the team returned to Bourewa for further research and stayed at Vusama village. The intentions of the team to concentrate on Bourewa arose from the conclusions of the findings of 2003, when many interesting artefacts were identified during the fieldwork.

2003

Case study three: Yadua Island, Northern Fiji

In December 2003, the research team of Patrick Nunn, Roselyn Kumar and students from USP with Tomo Ishimura from Kyoto University, and Sepeti Matararaba from the Museum, conducted research on the island of Yadua off the west coast of Vanua Levu in the province of Bua. The team discovered dentate pottery commonly known as Lapita on the Vagairiki coastal flat. Vagairiki is the only site where dentate stamped pottery (Lapita) was found on the island. Yadua island is also known internationally for the crested iguana.

Lapita Pottery Discovery

Lapita settlement was the earliest-known in Fiji. The Lapita people reached the islands from the west about 2900 years ago and lived a largely coastal existence for hundreds of years with probably little impact on in-land environments. These recent findings show that Lapita settlement in Fiji was more intense than previously thought, suggesting, although this is far from certain, that large numbers of colonists arrived within a short period of time.

This conclusion gives us a vision of a Great Fleet of ocean-going vessels coming from the west (probably from Solomon Islands or Vanuatu) with the express intention of colonising new lands. Although the theory of a Great Fleet colonising New Zealand has fallen out of favour with archaeologists, the new information from Fiji may force reassessment of these ideas and, with it, a reassessment of the motivation and planning of the extraordinary group of people who first colonised our islands.

Archaeological Research and Oral History Recording

Along with archaeological research, there is also the recording of oral history. Fijians recognise the importance of collecting such information. In addition to the Fiji Museum there are other institutions that collect oral history, such as the Native Lands Commission (NLC) in the Ministry of Fijian Affairs, the Pacific Institute of the University of the South Pacific, the Institute for Fijian Culture, the Fiji Military Forces and the Methodist Church (Buadromo, 1999). The Fiji Museum collects oral history through its Archaeology Department and through the Collection Department with regard to information relating to the artefacts. There is no specific legislation that addresses the issue of oral traditions and heritage and their protection in Fiji, but the Copyright Act does briefly address the issue of intellectual property rights. The oral history collection activities of these institutions are therefore unregulated and there is, currently, no forum through which these institutions can come together and share the oral knowledge they have accumulated over the years.

Summary

The archaeological work that has been done to date has placed Fiji alongside other islands that have been well-researched to determine an archaeological answer to the origins of Pacific people. In the case of the origins of Fijians, there is still room for further research results which could provide a clear chronology of human settlement.

Lapita pottery has become part of the evidence of human movement from the islands of southeast East Asia to the Pacific. The original site of Lapita pottery was in Kone, New Caledonia. This type of pottery has attracted the attention of many researchers world-wide, in particular archaeologists. Some anthropologists have analysed the purpose, use and function of such pottery. The overall conclusions indicate that Lapita pottery was designed for special occasions, possibly for sacred rites and worship, rather than everyday domestic functions such as cooking.

Most archaeological research in Fiji has used oral traditions to support scientific studies. It is my intention to demonstrate with this research that archaeological findings and oral traditions should be consciously viewed jointly, rather than separately, as valuable evidence that produces an overall impression of past human

habitation in Fiji. Place names, totems, traditions and customs need to be studied with credibility to reinforce the archaeological findings. To include traditional knowledge is one way of building a bridge between western science and indigenous knowledge. As an indigenous person, it is my responsibility to ensure that this bridge is built and relationships nurtured.

Chapter 6

Synergy between Fijian Indigenous Knowledge and Archaeology

The *talanoa* or story-telling approach undertaken in this research yielded interesting results. The entrenchment of the Kaunitoni Migration story from the 1890s and the emphasis placed upon it by religious and educational institutions in Fiji was obviously seen in my research results. Most of the *talanoa* participants referred to the Kaunitoni Migration story more than once. Although this story and many other tribal myths were seen as an important part of Fijian mythology, most believed that archaeology, as the new science, complemented their knowledge. To these participants the only difference was that archaeology is based on physical evidence excavated from old village sites, which is important for tracking the movements of people between locations, over periods of time.

My interpretation of this research is that there is a strong synergy between archaeological research data and Fijian oral tradition. Excluded from this oral history, however, is the Kautoni Migration story. It is up to Fijians themselves as to how deeply they look into their own cultural heritage to bring out the elements that are valid and relevant to the discussion of Fijian origins. The discussion in Chapter 3 demonstrates that myths and legends have evidently played a key role in understanding Fijian origins.

Current Practices of Oral History Collection in Fiji

The Fiji Museum is in the process of setting up a register of historic sites in which the known archaeological and historical sites are placed together with a synopsis of all archaeological research carried out on each site. This is now being supplemented with the oral history of the site. This area of work has been particularly significant for indigenous sites in Fiji, many of which are no longer inhabited. One of the roles that the archaeology field teams have is to collect oral histories from villages and communities in the vicinity of the archaeological sites. This provides an insight into the recent past of the site and surroundings, and at the same time helps trace the

cultural resource owners of the sites. Collecting oral histories at the same time as excavations have taken place has proved beneficial to more recent archaeological research. This is a major aspect of cultural awareness being implimented by the Archaeology Department at the Fiji Museum. The mission of the department is to present archaeological data and oral history of village sites to local people whose land has been researched or excavated. Oral history is being collected as a retrospective process for sites researched in the past, such as the colonial town of Levuka, on Ovalau Island, along with the stories from the descendants of non-indigenous people such as the European, Indian and Solomon Islands communities living in Fiji.

Fijian Warfare (*Veivaluvaluti*)

One area of Fijian life that contains significant evidence of the synergy between archaeology and oral traditions is warfare. Physical evidence of war activities will be discussed later in this chapter. Thomson (1968:85) mentioned that Thomas Williams, in his book *Fiji and The Fijians,* noted that there were numerous inter-tribal wars in Fiji. Warfare was part and parcel of daily life. Armies of larger confederations could amount to one thousand men. The extent of distrust was great. On the island of Taveuni, for instance, it was difficult for Somosomo (which was the chiefly village at that time) to claim sovereignty over the whole island due to the absence of strong men, who were taking part in another war on mainland Vanua Levu.

The causes of war among Fijians, as noted by Thomson (1968:88) were:

- Land *qele*
- Women *yalewa*
- Insults to the chief *ore*
- Violation of tabu *vakatara na tabu*
- Ambition *sasaga ni veiliutaki*
- Oracles *tukutuku vuni*

Traditional Knowledge Synergy

Apart from warfare, this chapter aims to highlight the lessons learnt from aspects of Fijian oral traditions that link quite well with the archaeological research. In keeping with the three important factors that need be taken into consideration with regard to Fijian prehistory, the three factors discussed in Chapter 3 were: *Vanua* (land), *Veiliutaki* (Leadership) and *Lotu* (Old Religion).

VANUA

Lessons from Place Names

Much evidence of the peopling of Fiji can be found in place names. Our ancestors named places based on events associated with the places that they left behind, and events associated with their journey and arrival. In most cases, the leader of the group played a key role in the process of naming places.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the meanings of place names add more rich information to areas being studied by archaeologists. For instance, site names such as *Korowaiwai* would suggest a village surrounded by water or moat. Parry (1997:98) defined *korowaiwai* as settlements with simple ring-ditch defences. He went on to say that such sites were found in areas with a high water table, on flat sites. Sir Arthur Gordon (who was the leading colonial administrator after the ceding of Fiji to Britain in 1874) described an elaborate system of internal water-defences in addition to the perimeter ditch and bank:

> Vunitogoloa, a very curious little town, all cut up by canals and inlets among the houses – a sort of Fijian Venice...though the town is small and looks decayed and desolate, there were many canoes moored in the canals near the houses (Gordon, 1897-1901,vol.II,p.617).

Archaeologists would note the place name, and indigenous informants could provide more information of the definition of the name. To combine such knowledge systems would provide additional perspectives to the study area.

VEILIUTAKI

Lessons from Customary Practices

The province of Lau's close proximity to the Kingdom of Tonga plays a key role in intermarriage and frequent visits between the two groups of islands. This goes back many centuries. Each island group in the Lau Group has its own place of origin, mainly from Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. The people of Matuku Island in eastern Fiji believe that they originally came from Waimaro (Naitasiri Province) on central eastern Viti Levu. The people of Kabara Island in eastern Fiji have links to Verata, (Tailevu Province), on the southeast of Viti Levu.. Those from the island of Vanua Balavu in eastern Fiji confirm their traditional links to the village of Vuna, located on the island of Taveuni in Cakaudrove Province, while Moala Islanders in eastern Fiji confirmed their traditional links to Naitasiri Province, on central Viti Levu.

Lauan music also confirmed stronger Fijian origins despite the commonly known traditional link with Tonga. Research by Moyle (1976:31) on Lakeba and Vanua Balavu confirmed that there is a high degree of Fijian influence in the music of Tonga and Lau. Despite some Tongan influence on the *lakalaka* and *polotu*, minimal changes can be seen. Fijian influences were also found in extinct categories of songs, song types that still exist but are no longer composed. These included songs called *fa'ahi ula, faka-niua* and *tau'a'alo* which originally had Fijian origins.

Tribal Responsibilities

Some chiefs are called *vunivalu*, which can be translated as the *Root of War*. Ratu Seru Cakobau, the first King of Fiji had such a title, as did the high chiefs of the provinces of Serua *and* Namosi. All of them resided on the main island of Viti Levu. All the current title holders continue to be called *vunivalu*.

The two key traditional roles that arose during warfare were: the priests (*bete*) and warriors (*bati*).

Priestly Clan (*Bete*)

The *bete* were the link between the chiefs (*turaga*) and the gods (*kalou*). The oracles that the priest would foresee eventually became the key part of the overall military strategy. The priest (*bete*) would interpret the desires of the gods. Other activities associated with war preparation would be the rebuilding of ruined temples, clearing of the shrines half-buried in weeds, and erecting new temples that would be named after chiefs that have passed on, mostly in previous battles (Thomson, 1908:88).

Warrior Clan (*Bati*)

The position of a *bati* is an influential one, in particular when it is associated with tribal alliances or war. *Bati* can also refer to those tribes that reside on the border of the villages which were mostly classified into two categories: short bati (*bati leka)* and long bati *(bati balavu). Bati leka* are those warriors that were positioned close to the chiefs and became close protectors. The *Bati balavu* were those located near the borders, ensuring that the most up-to-date information is passed on to the chief and the *bete* frequently and accurately. This information was also be passed on to the heralds or *mata*, who were trained as information gatherers and communication officers.

The traditional role of the *bati* (warrior) was essential to war preparation. They were the ones responsible for ensuring the safety of the chief *(turaga*) and the people. They would also be making sure that the outlying villages were ready for any imminent battle and that their defences were under control, either by entrenching a neighbouring hilltop or by deepening the moat, and building reed fences with intricate passages through the earthworks (Thomson: 1968:89).

Investiture of Names

War achievements were recognised at a public ceremony that involved people in the confederacy congregating together on the village green to recognise those who had slain people, and appropriate titles invested upon them. They were divided into the following categories:

Title	Meaning
Koroi	Honour those who kill a man, woman or child in a battle
Koli	Honour those who kill 10 people
Visa	Honour those who kill 20 people

Table 8: Definitions of War Titles

Eye witness accounts of investiture ceremonies on Bau and Somosomo were documented by Waterhouse and John Williams respectively. These ceremonies can provide archaeologists with more in-depth understanding of the leadership hierarchy of certain chiefdoms at certain periods of time.

SOKALOU

Lessons from Totemism

Frazer (1910:60) described totemism as a belief system where spirits of the dead change form and turn into either a plant or animal. Subsequently, the living descendants associate their ancestor with the plant or animal which their ancestor has taken the form of. They then abstain from killing and eating this species. They identify themselves with their totem and are careful not to hurt or destroy it.

Many tribes in Fiji have continued to use their totems as part of their cultural identification, even though they do not practice ancestor worship as the early Fijians did in pre-contact times. For instance, when Fijians introduce themselves in a traditional gathering, some may refer to their traditional house mound (*yavu*) which then indirectly links them to their totemic flora or fauna. For instance, in Yawe district in Kadavu, the traditional *yavu* is *Valedeideiga*, while Tavuki district is *Nacolase*. Through the announcement of such names, those present will know their traditional ties to one another. During the informal part of the ceremony, people from Yawe and Tavuki can jokingly mention their totemic plants or animal, which can cause a jovial spirit of fun. In the case of Namosi province, for those whose totemic tree is *vico*, for example, they would immediately connect with those from another part of Fiji whose totemic plant is *vico*. If they have a matching totemic animal, there is a strong

inclination to believe that they share the same origin. Studying the physical characteristics, languages, customs, village hierarchy, songs, chants and dances of a group of people in Fiji will provide any researcher with a better understanding of who may be the original inhabitants prior to Lapita people arriving.

Totemism discourages even the mentioning of the name of the totemic flora or fauna. This means that any disturbance to the animal, insect, flower or fish is culturally inappropriate. One of the benefits of understanding totemism in Fiji is that the study of domestic and commensal mammals, particularly in the context of their ecological requirements, can throw light on the spread of early human populations and their subsistence modes (Crowes 1995:162). The study of totemism can lead to understanding the natural heritage of Fiji. Since the belief of totemism discourages the consumption of any edible totemic animal, this, in my view would contribute to the thriving of its population and its habitat.

ARCHAEOLOGY SYNERGY

Lessons from Archaeological Fieldwork

With any fieldwork, many sites and geographical features are recorded. In many instances, these features have local indigenous names, meanings and stories associated with them. The table below shows the archaeological site typology according to its uses by indigenous Fijian people:

Archaeological Site Typologies with Fijian Meanings

Archaeological Site Typology	**Land Features**	**Indigenous Fijian Terms**
Habitation	Old village site	Koro makawa
	Artefacts	Yau makawa
	Mounds	Yavu
	Seasonal camps	Koro/Keba
	Shell Midden	Benubenu
	Cooking site	Vakasasaqa se lovo
Warfare	Ring ditch or moat	Korowaiwai
	Hill Fort	iDrodro

	Rock shelter	Koro ni drodro
Land Boundaries	Stone arrangements	Suvasuva
Agricultural	Pits	Davuke
	Terraces	Teitei keli
Funerary	Limestone Caves	Qara (Naivakasara)
	Grave Sites/ Burials	Bulubulu
Ritual	Priest-house	Burekalou
	Worship places	Vanua ni Sokalou
	Rock Paintings	Lalaga volai
	Lithic Site	Kalou Vatu
	Petroglyphs	Vatu ceuti

Table 9: Archaeological Site Typologies with Fijian Meanings

Fortifications

Archaeologists have discovered many remnants of man-made fortifications that were built to protect people during times of warfare. There are two types: *hill forts* and *ring-ditch fortifications*. Hill forts are sites that are located on high elevated areas, while ring-ditches are on lower elevations and flat areas. This might be a fortress on a hilltop or a double-or triple-moat with earthworks in between. Many hilltops in western Viti Levu have an entrenchment or hill-fort of some kind. Waitora in Levuka, Ovalau, had a fort comprised of a rock which can only be accessed by a natural ladder made from the aerial roots of the banyan tree. The entrance to the fort can admit only one person at a time.

Thomson (1968:91) outlined how invading armies attacked villages. In 1840, a war was thwarted by the missionary Reverend William Cross between people of Bau and the neighbouring islanders of Viwa.

> It was arranged that the Bau chief should invade Viwa with a large force, which was to be divided into three companies. The strongest, with the chief at its head, was to land at a part of the island most distant from the town and the

> others to be posted so as to cut off those who might attempt to escape (Waterhouse, 1997:54).

Archaeologists can utilise the local knowledge of these defences as part of their archaeological investigations. Comparative analysis of such earthworks with others in the region can provide further insight on the importance of such landmarks, thus providing an opportunity to learn about the people who built them. This can assist with the overall investigations of where these people came from, and what they did after they arrived.

EXCAVATED MATERIALS

Pottery

Pottery is one of the key materials found in archaeological sites. With the pottery manufacturing tradition still alive in Fiji, excavated pottery can be compared with more recent locally-made pots. However, there are numerous pottery analyses that have been conducted which show that some pottery originated from outside of Fiji.

Stone Tools

In a village setting, carpenters (*liga ni kau*) were traditionally vested with skills to build houses, canoes or structures that are part of their daily life. Before the arrival of steel tools, stone tools were the only technological means that enabled them to do their work well. Stone adzes (*matau vatu*) were implements that could fell trees and allow carpenters to cut the trees into parts, from which they made kava bowls and other wooden implements. Such stone tools are found in many archaeological sites. In some instances, stone quarries were located within or near the village or site being studied. Others sites showed no clear indication of the source of stone for the tools, which suggests that the tools were sourced from another location. For example, the source of a stone adze found on the island of Cikobia in Fiji in 1997 was traced to Samoa. Oral traditions on Cikobia linked the stone adzes to the Polynesian island of Futuna, evidence of interaction with other Pacific island people.

Obsidian

Obsidian samples that were found in Fiji had no local sources, and were traced to quarry sites such as the Wilaumez, on New Britain in Papua New Guinea (Allen, 2003:33). Fiji's currency of value, before the introduction of whale-tooth *(tabua*) by Tongans, was the carved wooden object shaped like a tooth. Oral history confirmed that the origin of the wood for this carved object was the *bua* tree. The translation of *tabua* is *to cut the bua.* As a form of currency, *tabua* was used for trade and exchage for mats,tapa and other valuable materials. It ws also valued for marriage dowries. As time went by and with the increase in tribal war, black stones carved in the form of a tooth were traded in Fiji. The specific use of these black stone *tabua* was to cause death and revenge to those who received them. Archaeological research has linked these obsidians to have been sourced in New Britain, in Papua New Guinea.

Shell Ornaments

Most sites, particularly midden sites and burials, contained shells used by prehistoric Fijians. Apart from shellfish used as a common food source, shells of various colours, shapes and sizes from other species were plentiful. Many shells were used as tools, and in some areas they were used as body ornaments. The ornamental shells can indicate the status of the wearer, more so by the type of shell and the quality of workmanship applied to these ornaments.

Discussion

The nature of the pottery designs found in Fiji has been the source of discussion among archaeologists, in particular the classification of Fijian finds under the Eastern Lapita styles. Analyses and comparisons of pottery designs have been made between pottery found in Fiji, and the pottery found in Tonga and Samoa. There have also been equally important pottery finds in New Caledonia, Vanuatu, The Solomons and Papua New Guinea which have slight variations in style compared with those found in Fiji.

The various pottery discoveries tell us that there were many cultural activities occurring in Fiji 3000 years ago. These activities were reflected in the designs of pottery. The distribution throughout the Pacific Islands of the designs also reflects the extent of penetration of people through Fiji, some of whom moved later to Tonga,

while others moved back to the western islands of their origins, and returned to Fiji at a later date. The discoveries of pottery can contribute valuable evidence to help trace migrations of various populations in and out of Fiji and the surrounding regions at various periods of time.

Archaeologists cannot solely rely on one form of evidence, such as pottery, to establish their theories of ancient cultures. As discussed in Chapter 1, linguistics is another research model to collect further evidence. The Fijian language is a branch of the Proto-Polynesian language, branched off from central Pacific, with Austronesian as the parent language. This suggests that, through time, Fijians became isolated and evolved their own language which is still used today.

Geography is another important element for indigenous people and archaeologists to consider. Place names can be associated with natural disasters such as volcanic eruptions, hurricanes or tsunamis. Samoa, for example, has areas which are now underwater due to tectonic and geological activities, and the local people no longer retain ny cultural memories of these sites,but the place names reflect these ancient historical events. Sharing of such information is important to good research relationships amongst all scientific disciplines.

Summary

This chapter argued that there is synergy between archaeology and oral traditions in Fiji. Archaeologists and local populations need to share their knowledge of a site with each other. This complementary relationship ensures a more complete theory of the ancient cultures can be established.

I personally believe that there are still many areas to be explored in the realm of Fijian theology, customs and traditions that can shed more light on understanding the origins of Fijians.

Chapter 7
Summary and Conclusions: Future Opportunities

Before discussing the summary points, I would like to return to the main research questions of this study:

- *What popular beliefs of Fijian origins exist?*
- *What role do myths and legends play in popular beliefs?*
- *How much do Fijians know about archaeology?*
- *What relationship do Fijians find between popular beliefs and archaeology?*
- *Do Fijians find archaeology an important tool for identifying more information of who we are?*

The goals of my research were:

- *To record Fijian viewpoints of their past*
- *To establish how Fijians view themselves as indigenous people*
- *To understand the Fijian views of archaeology versus popular beliefs/oral history*
- *To strongly establish the relationship between popular belief and archaeological research*
- *To identify why archaeology can be important to identifying Fijian prehistory.*

First and foremost, based on my research, I believe that one must look at more than one research model before making a definite conclusion on who the first arrivals to Fiji were.

Research Findings

Fiji's strategic geographical location in the Pacific has played a key role in understanding human settlement in Fiji. Western science and traditional knowledge have revealed that there were numerous migrations of people into and out of Fiji. This has made Fiji the home of a very diverse group of people. Oral histories reveal that

some tribal groups originated from different locations. For instance, some groups from the east of Fiji originated from a tribe on the island of Viti Levu, whereas other groups in the south point to central Fiji (Lomaiviti) as their origins.

Fijians are not a homogeneous people. Fiji was the final destination of various distinct groups of people, unlike Tonga and Samoa, which were populated mostly by the same group with the same language. New Zealand was also populated by a single population in one migration from the same source. The variations of origins of populations in Fiji can be proven with the stylistic differences in pottery found in Fiji, physical features of Fijians from the highlands compared with those on the outer islands and the coast, as well as place names, dialects and languages.

Melanesian and Polynesian blend – Fijians are without doubt a group of people who became who they are with the blending of Papuan and Polynesian genes.

Origins of Fijians from the West – based on linguistics, biological anthropology, and archaeology, the evidence suggests that the first Fijians moved from a westerly to an easterly direction. The exact location is unknown, but DNA tests prove that the Austronesian homeland is Taiwan. Interracial marriage and breeding between the early Fijian migrants (Austronesians) and subsequent migrant groups, over thousands of years, has evolved into the current Fijian ethnicity.

The Kaunitoni Migration – I personally believe that this is a relatively modern fiction that does not hold any credibility. However, a lesson that we can learn from this is that there was no one migration to Fiji but were many subsequent migrations in and out of Fiji.

- Kaunitoni Migration story does not include any reference to any islands to the West such as Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands
- Those islands to the west of Fiji do not refer to this story at all or any reference to the Kaunitoni Migration story whatsoever. It would be fair to say that if this story is not mentioned in Vanuatu, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, then the canoe did not exist.

- The *Kaunitoni* boat was only one of the many boats that came, for example, *Rogovoka*, *Kaunitera* were other canoes known to have migrated to Fiji.
- Traditional sources revealed that the Kaunitoni story has some connections to Tonga. *Degei* and *Lutunasobasoba* were known to be Tongan chiefs, who moved into Fiji with their followers.

Current Observations on Archaeological Research in Fiji

Politics of research in Fiji – Although the Fiji Museum is the main government department that oversees all archaeological research in Fiji, there are other government departments involved in the process.

DEPARTMENT	**REASONS OF INTEREST**
Immigration	Provision of work and research permits for archaeologists
Fiji Revenue and Customs	Provision of international freight and customs for research materials for overseas analysis
Ministry of Education	Use of research data for educational purposes
Ministry of Indigenous Affairs	Protection of indigenous knowledge

Table 10: Government Departmental Interest in Archaeological Projects

All the departments named above have a genuine interest in every research that takes place in Fiji. Overall, the protection of heritage sites and associated information is paramount. The paper-trail generated by these agencies can be quite time consuming but hopefully this can be streamlined in the future by electronically linking the permit system to other databases to ensure the smooth and efficient transmission of information.

Objectives of Funding Agencies such as the Australian National University, and the University of Auckland

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the work that was undertaken in the Pacific in the 1900s was reliant on the people who were leading the museums at that time for funding. Their backgrounds as well as their contacts with other funding agencies allowed such

collaborative research projects to be undertaken. The same is seen today where institutions such as the Australian National University in Canberra and the Simon Fraser University in Canada have provided funding for work to be undertaken in Fiji.

Emphasis on well-researched areas such as Sigatoka Sand Dunes, Yanuca – The Sigatoka Sand Dunes and associated areas have been well-researched since the 1960s, and have continued to attract groups from overseas researching and documenting findings from there. Diverting some of this interest, in the form of funding and personnel, into other less well-known sites may be a useful means of expanding the archaeological knowledge and sharing resources in the future.

Lack of interest for research in the highlands – The lack of research in the highlands of Naitasiri, Namosi, Navosa and Ba provinces is probably more to do with the terrain, accessibility, and cost of an inland excavation as opposed to an accessible, sandy coastal excavation, and the thrill of the discovery of revealing pottery. Archaeological evidence shows that Lapita sites are mainly located in coastal areas.

Indigenous framework understanding ignored – Archaeologists in the past have taken into consideration oral traditions as a key component of their research, however, I perceive that this is often undertaken on an *ad hoc* basis. I believe that oral traditions have many uses and add validity to a scientific research, and should be treated with more respect and attention when included in a report.

The Future: Research Opportunities

Holistic research in Fiji should be encouraged. This means that collaboration between science disciplines should be strengthened. Archaeology, cultural anthropology, biological anthropology, geography, material culture and linguistics must continue to work together. This research model will work well in Fiji, given the diversity in the culture and traditions of Fijians.

Fijian cultural diversity means that research of Fijians *must not be* treated under a "one size fits all" research framework. Such a research framework can work in places where the indigenous people are from a homogenous source, with the same linguistic traits, such as Tonga, Samoa, Hawaii and the Cook Islands. There are many variations

within the genetic makeup of Fijians, for instance, those in the highlands of Viti Levu have more Melanesian influences, while those in Vanua Levu and Lau have Polynesian variations in them. The latter may be the result of early intermarriage of Papuan and Polynesian people. Evidence of this can be seen in their physical features, cultural affiliations and dialects.

Accepting regional differences in Fiji – The custom of tracing or preserving the knowledge of family genealogy through either paternal or maternal links is critical in this research. The recalling a family through the maternal link in particular is very Polynesian. This is common on islands such as Rotuma and Tonga. In most parts of Fiji family histories are patrilineal. The province of Macuata in northern Fiji has pockets of those who link their family lines through their mothers.

Dialect differences and similarities are quite interesting to observe and analyse. For instance, the word for *taro (or dalo)* has dialectical variations such as *boka* in the Namosi province, *suli* in Kadavu, and *doko* in Ba. On the other hand, the word for water (*wai*) is common across the Fiji group, with little or no difference between dialects. *Wai* is also a common place name and is found throughout Austronesia.

Proactive Dissemination of Information to the Local People

During my fieldwork, many Fijians with whom I interacted, and those who participated in my research work, had very limited knowledge of archaeological research in Fiji. The Sigatoka Sand Dunes was the most frequently mentioned archaeological site. The media coverage of the work done in Sigatoka has enhanced the local knowledge and appreciation.

Proactive Inclusion of Archaeological Data in School Curriculum

Verified data that are gathered from various parts of Fiji must be disseminated through the educational systems. It must be tailored in a way that allows teachers and students to be aware of their environment, and to celebrate the richness of the archaeological data that pertains to certain parts of Fiji. The curriculum should also include positive information that relates to Fiji's influence and historical standing in the Pacific region especially for Polynesia.

Compulsory Fijian Vernacular Lessons For All Fiji Islanders in School

It is critical that the younger generation know traditional stories from their own family. Given the changing times that we are facing in Fiji, the use of the Fijian language has decreased in the urban areas. Many people have adopted western lifestyles and are speaking English most of the time. Language is closely linked with culture and traditions, and research has shown that once the language-use diminishes, the cultural skills and knowledge also decrease. The net loss of indigenous Fijians, due to migration overseas, is increasing the danger of the language being under-used and potentially dying out. This has occurred in other Pacific countries, and it will be necessary to take steps to avoid this happening in Fiji.

This chapter aimed to summarise this research topic that has become a personal journey for me. As an indigenous person, I have now come to reflect on this remark that I started my research journey on:

"… and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and to know the place for the first time…" (T.S. Eliot)

Appendix 1

THE INDIGENEITY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN FIJI: ISSUES AND OPPORTUNITIES

MASTERS RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE
2009

Research conducted by Tarisi Vunidilo, University of Waikato

Name (Optional):_____
Current address (Optional):
_____
If applicable, please fill in the following:
Village (Koro): _____
District (Tikina): _____
Province (Yasana) :_____

Gender (circle applicable answer): Female/Male

Age range (circle applicable answer)

19 years and under	20-29 years	30-39 years
40-49 years	50-59	60-69 years
70 and above		

ORIGINS OF FIJIANS

1. Where do you think Fijians came from?
_____
_____
_____

   a. Do you believe they migrated to Fiji or were always in Fiji ?
   _____
   _____
   _____

   b. Identify and explain one or more stories you of the origin of Fijians?
   _____
   _____
   _____

2. Do you know of any migration story that relates to your village, district or province?

_____
_____
_____

3. If you have been told stories when you were young, how do you value them now?

_____
_____
_____

a. Do you think these stories should be passed on to the next generation?

_____
_____
_____

TERMINOLOGIES

What do these terms mean to you?

Kaunitoni

_____
_____
_____

Lutunasobasoba

_____
_____
_____

Vuda

_____
_____
_____

ORAL HISTORY

4. What is your understanding of oral history?

_____
_____
_____

5. As indigenous people of Fiji, should Fijians be interested in oral history?
If yes, please explain

_____
_____
_____
_____

If no, please explain

_____
_____
_____
_____

TERMINOLOGIES
What do these terms mean to you?
Native Land Commission

_____
_____
_____

Tukutuku Raraba

_____
_____
_____

Fiji Museum

_____
_____
_____

ARCHAEOLOGY

6. What does archaeology mean to you?

_____
_____
_____
_____

7. How much do you know of the archaeological research taking place in Fiji?_____

a. If you are familiar with it, which archaeological site do you know of and why?

_____
_____
_____
_____

8. To what extent do you think Fijians should be involved in archaeological research?
    a. How much involvement should they have on these researches?

_____
_____
_____
_____

9. How should young people be involved in the discussion of their history?

_____
_____
_____
_____

10. As Fiji is a multi-cultural society, how far and how much do these archaeological research go?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

TERMINOLOGIES
What do these terms mean to you?

Lapita

_____
_____

Koro Makawa

_____
_____

Sigatoka Sand Dunes

_____
_____

Any other comments?_____

_____

_____

Appendix 2

Online discussion with Fijians regarding Fijian origins

The Internet is a technological medium that Fijians now use. Many Fijian households own personal computers and have access to the internet at home while others may access it at work, school and in internet shops in the urban areas.

As a migrant who left Fiji nine years ago, my interest in wanting to know more about Fiji has increased ten-fold, compared with when I was in Fiji. Such is the nature of migration that it has allowed many to view their home country from another angle, more as an outsider looking back in. There is a steady increase in the number of Fijians leaving Fiji to move abroad. Such movements have encouraged many Fijians, both young and old, to be interested in their culture. Many are now rediscovering their history and learning to understand their own cultural identity. I have participated in and contributed to some online discussions on the topic of Fijian origins. I have included these dialogues in this thesis to reveal many personal thoughts about this subject, and to show how many Fijians are putting their thoughts and ideas more openly online.

Being a Fijian living in New Zealand, I wanted to find out about previous discussion on this topic that took place five or more years ago. A typical example of this was found in discussions in an online forum facilitated by the Auckland Fiji Website. Some of those who contributed live outside of Fiji. It was apparent that the technology allowed these contributors to discuss these topics very openly. I have requested permission to include these discussions in this thesis as another mode of gathering views of Fijians around the world.

Online Discussion 1:

I've always wondered what the origins of the Fijians are. After looking at various websites and books I think the Fijians hail from South East Asia as argued by Professor Roger Green of Auckland University or I think I'd agree with the Kontiki theory that the Fijians originated from South America. What does anyone else think? FB

London , Auckland Fiji Website Sep 15, 2008)

Online Discussion 2

My belief is that the first settlers of the Pacific originated from the West - and not from South America as stated in the Kontiki Theory.
The Kontiki Theory reckons that we "drifted" off the coast of South America. Professor Geoffrey Irwin also of the University of Auckland (who also has sailed the Pacific) has mapped out the weather patterns of the Pacific onto a computer simulation programme, which has provided evidence that the chance of actually hitting an island by "drifting" from the East to West is almost negligible. The Kontiki itself made unsuccessful attempts on its drift voyage.

Professor Irwin's research supports a westward origin with people intentionally setting out to explore and settle the Pacific. The presence of kumara or sweet potato is evidence that early Pacific voyagers made it to the coast of South America and back.

I would rather give credit to my ancestors for their voyaging skills and technology rather than believe that they simply drifted off some coast.

It must be kept in mind that voyaging began over 3,500 years ago as showed by archaeological dating methods. The first people that set off across the Pacific are most likely physically and culturally different from Fijians of today. Over the 3,500 odd years there could have been untold waves of migration from the West/Melanesia. So I believe that today's Fijian culture and people developed and indeed originated in Fiji as the authentic legends tell us.

L
(Auckland Fiji Website Sep 21, 2008)

Online Discussion 3

A friend of mine had been to the Middle East for peacekeeping & had met a Professor from Tanzania, anyway during their conversation this friend of mine had told him of the story that us Fijian's believed we had originated from Tanga-ni-ika, Tanzania. The professor's reply was that it would have been impossible as there are so many obstacles that would of prevented us from even getting to the coast of Africa one of them being the bottom less pit and that we wouldn't have even made it out of there alive. Well, that's what I've heard.

I've also heard such things as Fijian's being the lost tribe of the Jews ie FIJI stands for "First Indigenous Jewish Immigrants" & the other one where in the year 2000 they had all the flags of the world in Jerusalem and that "something happened an eclipse or something" cant quite remember, anyways the story goes that it was only the flag of Israel and Fiji left standing the next day. Well, I don't know which story to believe all I know is Fiji has a mixture of identities, cultures and beliefs which lets others knows how diversified an island nation in the pacific can be

K
(Auckland Fiji Website Sep 23, 2004)

Discussion 4

There are many different arguments put forward and the information each person has documented is quite fascinating and enlightening and will be of use in my own research into the origins of our ancestors.

While currently I am leaning toward the south east Asia theory, I am not totally discounting the Lutunasobsoba [sic] theory, actually it should be named the King Tura theory as lutunasobsoba [sic] and degei according to legend were brothers their father was Tura from Thebes in Egypt who Migrated with his tribe down through Africa and settled for a time by Lake Tanganika in Tanzania, Tura died on the journey and his sons took up his cause, you should read the actual legend in detail

and then look into the history of the regions in details, and then compile the oral history from all the provinces across Fiji and compare with other archaeological data, anyway its going to be part of my journey to uncover as much as I can for myself.

Also there is a theory that all life originated in Africa and it then moved out through the world to form the various different races how we evolved physically was an evolutionary process, there is genetic evidence as well as archaeological evidence to indicate this.

I think there maybe truth in all the theories put forward and maybe a connection between each one at some point or another, time will tell and although it does sound a little cliché, only God truly knows, delve deeper there is no definitive answer as yet.

M, Auckland Fiji Website Mar 19, 2008

Online Discussion 5

Traditional Fijian legend tells the story of migration leaders such Lutunasobasoba, Degei etc, landing at Vuda and migration route through central Viti Levu to Nakauvadra, Ucunivanua thence to other parts of Fiji. Also their canoe (Drua)....
T
Auckland Fiji Website Sep 15, 2008

Online Discussion 6

It is accepted in scientific circles that the Lapita people did land in Fiji from S.E Asia and moving on Eastwards to the settle the rest of Polynesia.

Thor Hadelman's Kontiki theory was recently debunked due to DNA evidence. Research compared the DNA of the far Eastern Islands of French Polynesia and Peru. They discovered no link to the stock genes. There were some minor interaction but it was discounted as more recent.

M ,Auckland Fiji Website Oct 01, 2008

The inclusion of these online discussions in this paper has a high degree of relevance given that many Fijians today have the opportunity to leave Fiji and live in other countries. Such experience has contributed to the widening of their views on Fijian origins in contrast to how early Fijians viewed the world from their own surrounding. Discussions 1 and 2 highlighted the links to South East Asia, with reference as well to Thor Heyerdal and his South American theory. Discussions 3, 4 and 5 discussed the Kaunitoni Migration theory and the role of *Lutunasobasoba* and *Degei*.

My research data aims to engage Fijians, young and old, to continue their quest into finding more about themselves. Information technology has played a huge role in connecting many young Fijians around the world. It is interesting to note that these online forum discussion participants had some degree of reference to the six narratives discussed earlier in this chapter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arno, Andrew. *The World of Talk on a Fijian Island: An Ethnography of Law and Communicative Causation,* 1993.

Bakker, Solrun.et.al. *Fijians in Town*. Edited by Chris Griffin. IPS, USP, Suva. 1986.

Becker, Anne E. *Body, Self, and Society: The View from Fiji,* 1995.

Bellwood, P. *The Polynesians: Prehistory of an island people*, Thames and Hudson, Ltd. London, 1978.

Bellwood, P. *Fortifications and Economy in Prehistoric New Zealand*, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, in The Prehistoric Society.1978

Bellwood, P, Fox. J and Tryon, D. eds. *The Austronesians*, Research School for Pacific Asian Studies, ANU, Canberra, 1995.

Belshaw, Cyril S. *Under the Ivi Tree: Society and Economic Growth in Rural Fiji,* 1964.

Biturogoiwasa, Solomoni, with Anthony R. Walker. *My Village, My Life: Life in Nadoria, Fiji,* 2001.

Brewster, A.B, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji*, London. Service and Company Ltd, 1922.

Bridgewater, Alan & Gill. *Traditional and Folk Designs for embroidery, painting, pottery and all other crafts*. Kent, Search Press Ltd, 1990.

Capell, A and Lester, R.H. *Kinship in Fiji*. Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Company Limited, 1946.

Capek, Michael. Easter Island: *Unearthing Ancient Worlds,* Twenty First Century Books,Minneapolis. 2009.

Clunie, Ferguson. *Yalo I Viti: Shades of Viti–A Fiji Museum Catalogue,* 1986.

Crowley, Terry. *An Introduction to Historical Linguistics*, second edition. Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992.

Derrick, R. A. *The Fiji Islands: A Geographical Handbook,* 1951.

Derrick, R. A. *A History of Fiji*, Government Press, Suva, 1946.

Fison, Lorimer. *Tales from Old Fiji*. London, Alexander Moring Ltd, 1907.

France, Peter. *The Charter of the Land: Custom and Colonization in Fiji,* 1969.

Frost, Everett, *Archaeological Excavations of Archaeological Sites on Taveuni, Fiji*, Asian and Pacific Archaeology Series. No.6. Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1974.

Geddes, W. R. *Deuba: A Study of a Fijian Village*, 1945.

Geraghty, Paul. *The History of the Fijian Languages*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No.19, University of Hawaii Press, 1983.

Haas, Anthony. ed. *Fiji and its People*, Asia Pacific Research Unit, Wellington, 1979.

Hiroa, Te Rangi, (1945). *Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology*. New York, Kraus Reprint Co, 1945.

Hocart, A. M. *Lau Islands, Fiji*, 1929.

Holmes, Christine. Ed. *Captain Cook's Final Voyage: The Journal of Midshipman George Gilbert.* Canberra, Caliban Books, 1982.

Hoole, Elijah Rev. *Friendly and Feejee Islands: A Missionary Visit to various stations in the South Seas*, London, 1849.

Howard, Michael C. *Fiji: Race and Politics in an Island State*, 1991.

Howe, K.R. *The Quest for Origins: Who First Discovered and settled New Zealand and the Pacific Island*. Auckland, Penguin Books (NZ), Ltd, 2003

Howe, K.R. Ed. *Vaka Moana:Voyages of the Ancestors. The discovery and settlement of the Pacific*. Auckland, David Bateman Ltd, 2006.

Jewell, Rebecca and Lloyd, Jude. *Pacific Designs: British Museum Pattern Books*. London, British Museum Press, 1998.

Kaplan, Martha. *Neither Cargo nor Cult: Ritual Politics and the Colonial Imagination in Fiji*, 1995.

Katz, Richard. *The Straight Path: A Story of Healing and Transformation in Fiji*, 1993.

Kelly, John D. *A Politics of Virtue: Hinduism, Sexuality and Counter-colonial Discourse in Fiji*, 1991.

Kirch, Patrick Vinton. *The Lapita Peoples: Ancestors of the Oceanic World*, 1997.

Lal, Brij V. *Broken Waves: A History of the Fiji Islands in the Twentieth Century*, 1992.

Lasaqa, Isireli. *The Fijian People: Before and After Independence 1959-1977*. Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1983.

Lawlor, I. *Report of an Archaeological Survey of Northern Lau*, Fiji. University of Auckland, Department of Anthropology, Auckland, 1981.

Malam, John. *Egypt: Picturing the Past-Reconstructing Ancient Sites and Objects to see how they were used*. London, Arcturus Publishing Ltd, 2004.

Mayer, Adrian C. *Peasants of the Pacific: A Study of Fiji Indian Rural Society*, 1961.

Mitchell, T.C. Ed. *Captain Cook and the South Pacific-The British Museum Yearbook 3*. London, British Museum Publications Ltd, 1979.

Moyle, Richard. A preliminary Analysis of Lauan Music from Lakeba and Vanua Balavu (p.23-38) in *The Royal Society of New Zealand*, Bulletin 17, 1977.

Nacanaitaba, Tauga, V. *Production of Women's Handcrafts in Fiji*. Wellington, New Zealand Coalition for Trade and Development, 1984.

Nayacakalou, R. R. *Leadership in Fiji*, Wellington. Oxford University Press, 1975

Nayacakalou, R.R. *Tradition and Change in the Fijian Village*, Suva, South Pacific Social Sciences Association, 1978.

Nand, Jenny. *Gender versus Ethnicity : the context of Fijian women's activism* MSocSc thesis, University of Waikato, 2005.

Newson, Lesley. *Language, Science Mysteries*. London, A & C Black, 1996.

Norton, Robert. *Race and Politics in Fiji*, 1977.

Parry, J. Ring Ditch Fortifications II, *Bulletin of the Fiji Museum*, Suva, 1981.

Prickett, N.J. Changing views and changing programmes in New Zealand archaeology. *Pacific Archaeology: assessments and prospects*. 2003.

Quain, Buell. *Fijian Village*, 1948.

Raffaele, Paul. *The Last Tribes on Earth: Journeys among the world's most threatened cultures*. Sydney, Pan Macmillan Australia, 2003.

Ravuvu, Asesela. *Vakai I Taukei: The Fijian Way of Life*, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva. 1983.

Ravuvu, Asesela. *The Fijian Ethos*. The Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva. 1987.

Reed, A.W . *The Reed Dictionary of Maori Place Names*, Third Edition, Reed Books, Auckland, 1996.

Reed, A. W. *Myths and Legends of Fiji*, Auckland: Literary Productions Ltd, 1967.

Roth, G.K . *Fijian Way of Life*. London, Oxford University Press, 1953.

Routledge, David. *Matanitu: The Struggle for Power in Early Fiji*, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1985.

Royal Society of New Zealand, Bulletin 17. *Lau-Tonga 1977. Reports from the Expedition of June-July 1977*. Sponsored by the Royal Society of New Zealand, 1977.

Sahlins, Marshall D. *Moala: Culture and Nature on a Fijian Island*, 1962.

Sand, C. Ed. *Pacific Archaeology: assessments and prospects*. Department of Archaeology, Museum of New Caledonia, Noumea, 2003.

Scarr, Derrick. *FIJI, A Short Story*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1984.

Seemann, B. *Government Mission to the Fiji Islands*. Colonial History Series. Dawsons of Pall Mall, Folkstone, UK, 1973.

Stead, Oliver. Ed. *150 Treasures, Auckland Museum*. Auckland, David Bateman, 2001.

Smythe, W.J. *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands*. Printed by Messrs. Parker, Cornmarket, Oxford, 1864.

Thomas, Nicholas. *Planets around the Sun: Dynamics and Contradictions of the Fijian Matanitu*, 1986.

Thompson, Laura. *Fijian Frontier*, 1940.

Thomson, Basil. *The Fijians: A Study of the Decay of Custom*, London. Unwin Brothers Ltd. 1908.

Thorne, Alan & Raymond, Robert. *Man on the Rim: The Peopling of the Pacific*. The Book of the ABC TV series. London, 1989.

Tippett, Alan, R. *Fijian Material Culture*: *A study of Cultural Context, Function and Change*. Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press, 1968.

Toren, Christina. *Making Sense of Hierarchy: Cognition as Social Process in Fiji*, 1990.

Wallis, Mary, *Life in Feejee: Five Years Among the Cannibals*, Fiji Museum, Suva, 1983.

Ward, R. G. *Koro: Economic Development and Social Change in Fiji*, 1969.

Waterhouse, Joseph. *The King and People of Fiji*. Auckland, New Zealand: Pasifika Press, 1997.

Williams, Thomas. *Fiji and the Fijians: The Islands and Their Inhabitants*. Oceania Printers, Suva, 1982.

World Book Encyclopedia, Volume 12 (L). World Book, Chicago, 2009.

Oxford Concise Dictionary (1999).